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The Analysis of Common Sense

Fritz Heider

The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958. Pp. ix + 322. \$6.25.

Reviewed by HAROLD H. KELLEY

Dr. Kelley was a member of Kurt Lewin's Research Center for Group Dynamics when it was still at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He has been interested in social perception for a long time and has read and admired Heider's work all along. He was at Yale with Carl Hovland working on communication and attitude change. Now he is Professor of Psychology in the University of Minnesota's Laboratory for Research in Social Relations. He and J. W. Thibaut have just published with Wiley The Social Psychology of Groups (1959).

How do I know that another person perceives something in his environment? How do I react to the knowledge that he is perceiving me? How do I come to understand that another person can or cannot do something? How do I perceive that he is trying to do something? How do I feel about another person who shares my beliefs on an important topic? How do I go about inducing a person to do something? How can I make him want something? When I see another person enjoying something, will I too expect to enjoy it?

These and similar questions are the starting points for the chapters of this book. The answers are found by Professor Heider to lie in a careful analysis of the "half-formulated knowledge of

interpersonal relations as it is expressed in our everyday language and experience . . . referred to as common-sense or naive psychology." Scientific evidence and theory are also used where possible, but Heider's approach leans heavily upon the premise that scientific psychology has much to learn from common-sense psychology. Let us hasten to add that Heider's analysis quickly penetrates behind what the man in the street might say about these questions and gets at the logical structure and thought models that are *implicit* in his expectations, language, and actions.

For example, Heider reports the common observation that when hurt by person *o*, person *p* is often not satisfied merely to hurt back but also requires that *o* know by whom he is being hurt. Supporting his case by comments from Adam Smith and Westermarck, Heider derives as a possible interpretation of revenge that it has the implicit goal of correcting the original attacker's evaluation of the person he harmed, of showing *o* that *p* is not the weak, helpless person the attack implies. It does not seem likely that this goal of revenge will often be explicitly understood by a person seeking revenge. Indeed, he might deny it. This hypothesis, incidentally, has very interesting implications for research on revenge. It suggests the kinds of persons who will seek it, the

kinds of attack that will elicit the strongest revenge-seeking motivation and the kinds of apology and vengeful actions that will serve most to reduce the motivation.

As the sample of questions given initially suggests, Professor Heider's dominant theme is the perception of others. The book is about interpersonal perception and not, strictly speaking, about interpersonal relations. While the analysis of perception has implications for a person's actions in interpersonal situations (behavior is a function of the life space), such implications form a minor part of the considerations here. For example, my understanding of how to induce a person to want something will influence the actions I take to do so. But that is not to answer the question of how my beliefs about inducing desire are most effectively put into practice nor does it say they will work when so applied. Heider, however, does believe that our naive perceptions and understandings have a considerable degree of validity since they have survived numerous tests of prediction and action. On the other hand, this is not to say that the naive assumptions *always* lead to valid interpretations. Heider repeatedly points out the distortions and errors in perception that come from limited perspectives and egocentricities.

THE ideas in this book have been in development for many years—since long before the beginning of Professor Heider's present tenure at the University of Kansas. Heider describes some of the basic notions as going back to his doctoral thesis (Graz, 1929) and acknowledges encouragement and stimulation from his colleagues in Gestalt psy-

chology, Köhler and Lewin. Much of the analysis of perception and action derives from Egon Brunswik. With this background, Heider has long devoted himself to collecting instances of social situations and subjecting them to his careful logical and structural analysis, developing the terms of the analytic scheme as he went along. A major source of inspiration has been the writings of social philosophers, novelists, and other acute observers. While Heider has published important theoretical papers at earlier dates, the present volume is the culmination of this effort.

The reader familiar with Heider's earlier writings will wonder what is new in the present book. The answer is much. The diversity of phenomena that come under discussion can only be indicated by the examples scattered through this review. At the level of theory, two main developments are evident: (1) extensions of the basic thought model of "balance" theory, and (2) a new "attribution" theory that goes well beyond Heider's earlier discussion of the perception of causation. Let us consider these in order.

In its applications to interpersonal sentiments, the *balance* model is already well known and has been subjected to considerable investigation. Chapter 7 restates this model and summarizes much of the relevant research literature. In other chapters, the balance notion is extended to different problems. Chapter 8, entitled *Ought and Value*, is a brilliant discussion of values and norms ("ought forces"). Balance appears as the general proposition that there is a tendency to be in harmony with the requirements of the 'ought' standards. Examples: The situation is balanced if one likes to do what he ought to do, if what ought to be corresponds to what actually is, if happiness and goodness go together. Assertions of this type are highly provocative, perhaps for the very reason that one can think of exceptions to them. Still, they seem to have the quality of good first guesses that characterize Heider's earlier hypotheses about consistency among sentiments.

In still other chapters, the main analytic tool is a more general version of the harmony or consistency model of which balance theory is a specific in-



FRITZ HEIDER

stance. This general model, that the person tends to maintain a fittingness or consistency among the various related contents of his cognitive field, is applied to perceiving another person as a perceiver (Chapter 3), the analysis of action (Chapter 4), and desire and pleasure (Chapter 5). In these discussions, Heider drops the more intuition-based *affective logic* underlying the previously noted applications of balance theory and picks up the more formal tools of the logical analysis of necessary and sufficient conditions and their consequences. In the reviewer's opinion, the results become much more limited and less interesting.

Now to *attribution* theory. There repeatedly appears the problem of attributing an event to one or another of several factors associated with its occurrence. Consider an example in the realm of attribution of desire and pleasure. Is *p*'s enjoyment of a movie indicative of the movie's intrinsic enjoyableness (in which case, almost anyone would enjoy it) or of some personal idiosyncrasy of *p*? Heider's central theme is that perception leaps over the raw data presented and enables the person to understand the stable, dispositional properties (of the movie or of the person) that account for them. Context is crucial in making possible this 'arching over' process. In the preceding case, the context is provided by evidence about the observer's and other persons' experience with the movie and about *p*'s

reaction to other similar movies. A naive version of J. S. Mill's method of difference is said to provide the basic scheme of analysis: the effect is attributed to that condition which is present when the effect is present and which is absent when the effect is absent. Thus, if enjoyment is the effect when *p* views the movie but not when others view it, the effect is attributed to *p*. (From a scientific point of view, we might expect the effect would often be attributed to some special combination of factors, but Heider suggests that in naive psychology such bipolar attributions are not typical.) Having different contexts, different people may make different attributions. For example, *p* may try and fail on task *x*. Without information about others' success or failure and with a history of success on other tasks, *p* may attribute the failure to the difficulty of the task. On the other hand, an observer who knows of his own or others' success on task *x* may attribute the failure to *p*'s lack of ability.

Attribution theory has many important implications for social psychology and Heider develops some of them in a highly enlightening manner. He has much to say about the phenomena of social comparisons. Why does a person find it desirable or even necessary to compare himself with other persons? According to the method of difference, the causes of an effect can be allocated as between one's self and the environment only if a person has information from interpersonal comparison. The question then becomes: Why need a person make these attributions? Heider's answer, in a general way, is that this attribution is necessary if we are to make sense of the manifold stimuli impinging upon us. "Mastery of the causal network" of our environment depends upon ordering the proximal stimuli in terms of stable properties of our social and physical environment and of ourselves. One then wonders whether all realms of the "causal network" equally require mastery. If not, may we then outline the areas in which social comparisons will be important and those where they will be disregarded?

In a somewhat more detailed way, attribution theory gives a rather novel account of the importance of consensus

in maintaining social norms. When we feel that something, x , ought to happen, "it is not a particular somebody that is felt to want or command people to do x , but some superpersonal objective order." This perception of 'ought' requires a particular attribution. The necessity of performing x must be attributed to objective requirements rather than to personal wishes or whims; but to be successfully maintained, this attribution requires consensus. "Just as when enjoyment is attributed to the object, one assumes that people in general will find the object enjoyable, attributing 'ought' to an objective order requires that people in general should concur in its directives." If this condition is not met, the 'ought' becomes a personal wish attributed to me or my clique. Heider has considerable to say about the ensuing question of the social and personal functions served by attributing 'ought' to objective requirements.

The attribution process is, however, more subtle than the foregoing account would suggest. Heider mentions the frequent observation that the process seems to have a built-in bias favoring the attribution of events to the external world. At least this relation is found in the attribution of desire and pleasure. One reason given is that the person often makes these attributions on the basis of inadequate and biased data. The sample of data most frequently and most directly available to him (pleasure in presence of the object and nonpleasure in its absence) is such as to indicate that external factors are responsible for the pleasurable reaction. For example, enjoyment was absent before a spectacular mountain scene came into view and emerged only with its presence. Taken together with the tendency to expect other people to share our reactions when these reactions are attributed to objects, this bias has the consequence that the realm of experiences in which we expect to find social consensus with our reactions is considerably overextended.

THE foregoing discussion will give the reader some idea of the major themes in this book. It is an extremely complex work to describe and to evaluate. I have already tried to indicate where I have

found Heider's general models to be stimulating and where they have left me wondering about their fruitfulness. An evaluation must also be made at the level of the specific social phenomena to which the analytic schemes are applied. For example, Heider has fairly detailed discussions of such topics as sympathy and envy, embarrassment at coming under someone's view, interpretations of being benefited or harmed, the basis of indignation, implications of making requests and complying with them, and determining whether a value is internalized. In most instances, his analysis illuminates the problem from a new angle so that heretofore unobserved or unemphasized aspects become apparent. Any person interested in these problems would certainly profit from a careful reading of what Heider has to say about them.

The presentation is closely textured. The major theoretical threads appear and disappear as they are woven through the various substantive discussions. At times the careful development even strikes one as unnecessarily redundant. The discussion is not always profound, for the analysis of common sense does not always get far beyond common sense. One might argue, as I believe Heider would, that common sense itself has such a considerable grasp of human affairs one should not expect too much that is not somewhat obvious.

These limitations notwithstanding, this book is an exceptionally important publication in social psychology, one that will have a major and enduring effect upon the thought and research on interpersonal perception. Not all the implications are spelled out nor is Heider's theoretical approach so strong that it sweeps away the objections and exceptions it encounters. Much developmental work remains for others to do, but it will be far easier and more fruitful now that Heider has given us his brilliant and provocative analyses. In sum, Professor Heider has admirably carried out his purpose of making so explicit the assumptions, concepts, and theoretical schemes that lie behind everyday understanding of the social environment that now "questions that are more precise, and we believe more sensible, can be raised for experimental investigation."

For Academics: About Interviewing

Walter Van Dyke Bingham and
Bruce Victor Moore

How to Interview. (4th ed., prepared with the collaboration of John W. Gustad.) New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959. Pp. viii + 277. \$4.50.

Reviewed by RICHARD A. FEAR

who is currently Vice President of the Psychological Corporation, with which he has been associated since 1941 as consultant to business and industry on problems of employee selection, executive evaluation, employee counseling, and the like. He is author of The Evaluation Interview (McGraw-Hill, 1958; CP, Feb. 1959, 4, 56f.).

THIS fourth edition of what has long been considered standard reading by those interested in interviewing, succeeds admirably in providing a "critical but elementary presentation of the major known facts about interviewing." It incorporates the findings of research on the interview since the publication of the third edition in 1941 and since Dr. Bingham's death in 1952.

Dr. Bruce V. Moore, until recently executive officer of the American Psychological Association's Education and Training Board, with the collaboration of Dr. John W. Gustad, professor of psychology and director of the University Counseling Center at the University of Maryland, has added a considerable amount of new material, material which is concerned in part with new developments in psychodynamic and psychoanalytic approaches to the understanding of behavior.

The new material included in this latest edition makes it superior to any of the previous ones. New chapters on *The Participants in the Interview* (the interviewer and the interviewee in interaction), *Selection and Training of Interviewers*, *The Case Study*, *The Interview in Vocational Counseling*, and *The Clinical Interview* are exceedingly well

done. Into these chapters the authors have woven clear discussions of other evaluative techniques, such as aptitude tests, achievement tests, and standardized biographical information blanks.

The case for the interview is presented objectively, with a full documentation of its limitations with respect to reliability, but the authors correctly point out that some of these limitations are due to improper uses of the techniques and lack of training on the part of interviewers. They conclude that nothing has come along to supplant the interview as a means of influencing behavior or exploring the deepest levels of personality. They place great emphasis on the need for further study and research, and certainly no one can take issue with the statement: "There is art in interviewing, there is some science, and there should be more."

As in previous editions, however, this book does not tell the reader how to interview. Relatively, it provides little information concerning specific interviewing skills or the interpretation of information obtained by means of this technique. Rather, the authors talk about the interview, providing rich background information and abundant references for those who wish to explore any particular aspect in greater detail.

Readers will find that, where previous editions of this book were primarily concerned with the applications of interviewing in the industrial setting, the current work is more academically oriented. Thus, the chapter on selection and training of interviewers deals almost solely with the training of clinical and counseling psychologists. The book's academic orientation is probably responsible also for the authors' seeming lack of great concern about the reliability and validity of personality tests, since these tests are obviously more useful in the counseling situation than they are as a selection tool for industry. In this reviewer's opinion, though, this shift in orientation makes the book more valuable to a greater number of people in the field. It is now clearly of importance to students of psychology, guidance counselors, and social workers, as well as to personnel officers.

Group Therapy: An Instance

Cornelius Beukenkamp, Jr.

Fortunate Strangers: An Experience in Group Psychotherapy.
New York: Grove Press, 1959
(first published 1958 by Rinehart).
Pp. 269. \$1.95.

Reviewed by SYDNEY SMITH

who is Professor of Psychology at Arizona State University and Director of its Psychological Clinic, a position that brings him into close contact with the personality problems of many students. Recently he took leave for two years' clinical training as a postdoctoral fellow at the Menninger Foundation. He teaches diagnostic testing and is a consultant to a juvenile court.

MUCH has been written in the past decade or so about the complex dynamics of group psychotherapy. Papers expounding various conceptual systems on the development of group relationships and on the patterns of growth that can be observed or predicted in the sessions of group therapy have been available in increasing number for the interested to read. Dr. Beukenkamp's book adds nothing new to this abundant literature either in theoretical or practical understanding. Instead he presents us with what is alternately a captivating account of the relationship problem in therapy and a sticky sentimentalization of human nature. This latter quality seems to grow out of the author's efforts to fictionalize his presentation. Whether or not it is necessary to offer a sop of this kind in order to reach what the author calls a "wider audience" is questionable. The professional reader is bound to become concerned with the oversimplification and dilution of the therapeutic process for the sake of story development, and the lay reader runs the risk of coming away from this book convinced he has found a panacea for the world's ills.

Dr. Beukenkamp, who is apparently a psychiatrist in private practice in

New York, recounts for his readers a blow-by-blow description of the significant therapeutic sessions he held with eight patients over a period of approximately eighteen months. Perhaps because of his desire to remain on a nontechnical level, he makes only occasional gestures in the direction of providing a rationale for what is occurring to the group or for his own technique. He emphasizes the family-like nature of the group in the sense that the various participants in their own way recreate the dynamics of their childhood family situations and cast the therapist into the roles of first one parent and then the other. In general, he presents a convincing and at times even moving portrayal of his patients working through their infantile wishes and their dependency needs to achieve at termination more mature and potentially more effective and creative social roles.

Similarly his management of the problem of social contacts and intimacies between patients away from the group sessions—an explosive issue for this group—was skillfully turned to therapeutic gain; but other aspects of the therapeutic situation were not developed with so much success. The author's stress on understanding the patients' pervasive expressions of transference is not balanced by a similar insight into the problems of countertransference. In one therapeutic session, for example, the doctor permits one of the female members of the group to sit on his lap and in another instance he is jockeyed into a position of kissing a patient recently become a bride.

Such therapist behavior will certainly be recognized as controversial, and the reader is left wondering why, with patients of as much ego strength as his, he did not find it possible to interpret their transference problems rather than become drawn into their propensity for 'acting-out.' Unless a book of this kind can develop more fully the scientific issues in its presentation, it is left with little purpose other than entertainment, and in that Dr. Beukenkamp is certainly successful.



Read'st black where I read white.

—WILLIAM BLAKE

The Need for Better Educational Research

Robert M. W. Travers

An Introduction to Educational Research. New York: Macmillan, 1958.
Pp. xx + 466. \$5.75.

Reviewed by N. A. FATTU

Dr. Fattu is Professor of Educational Psychology and Director of the Institute of Educational Research of Indiana University. He has been Director of the Institute since 1951 and has been promoting educational research and studies of the status of educational research all the time. He also has a special interest in teaching machines and has written articles on this topic.

IN historical perspective, educational research has suffered from a lack of standards of scholarship, an absence of critical review by those in education, and a pervading tendency either to resent or to ignore criticisms from those outside the field. Travers may be counted among the minority who have indicated that educational research has failed to achieve the promises of its supporters of 70 years ago. With few exceptions, the general level of studies and the atmosphere for encouraging research has been far from inspiring. Many ailments can be cited—too much emphasis on immediate practical solutions to isolated problems at the expense of concern about the development of systematic knowledge and sustained effort directed toward it, too much tolerance of mediocrity in performance and shoddiness of intellectual effort, too little preparation in relevant substantive fields and in knowledge of research methods and techniques, and too little data collection on various educational phenomena. These ailments are still reflected in the typical climate for the encouragement of educational research and in its financial support.

Schools of education commonly offer an introductory course that attempts to

teach the beginning graduate student some things about research. Such a course tries to give an orientation with respect to "the strategy and tactics" of educational research not unlike that of similar courses in general education. Unfortunately, these courses have been regarded too often as ends in themselves. When a student completed them, he felt that he was through with research except for his thesis.

Travers clarifies reasonable expectations for such a course by suggesting that, while books may help the beginner avoid some pitfalls, obtain an overview of some published research and techniques, and start to develop some critical attitudes, research competence is actually achieved more by direct experience than by reading. Productive work requires ability, prolonged and sustained effort, a social atmosphere that permits nonconformity and encourages originality in thinking. These statements by Travers parallel those published subsequently by the Education and Training Board of the American Psychological Association.

Particularly notable is Travers' clarification of the role of theory in educational research. Too often theory is used as a term of ridicule—the distinction being between the 'practical' or getting things done and the 'theoretical' or day-dreaming.

WHILE other books on educational research have touched in a general way upon the need for theory, Travers has been more explicit by venturing to give specific examples, examples that appear to be closer to psychology than to education. More appropriate illustrations



ROBERT M. W. TRAVERS

might have been derived from Cronbach and others in *Text Materials in Modern Education*. Such examples could have been more congruent with Travers' point that educational research involves more than direct application of the methods and theories of related social sciences and that it must develop its own concepts, theories, and methods for organizing and discovering knowledge about educational problems.

Travers is at his best when discussing general considerations in the first four and in the last chapters of the book. His discussions of methodologies and techniques in the rest of the book range from excellent to mediocre. Most of the shortcomings indicated below seem to come from his attempt to cover too much and his attempt to make the book self-contained or independent of outside reference materials. As a result significant points and references are often missing.

On the discussion of construct validity (p. 156), reference to the basic article by Cronbach and Meehl is missing. The entire chapter on survey methods (pp. 231-273) could profit from reference to the publications of the Institute for Social Research, Cochran's *Sampling Techniques*, or Hansen, Hurwitz, and Madow's *Sampling Survey Methods and Theory*; also the summaries in the *Review of Educational Research* by Cornell (1954) and by Sitgreaves and Solomon (1957).

The Wallace (1954) study is cited (p. 249) as an example of the biases of direct-

mail questionnaires. It is interesting that the 1960 census plans to use direct-mail questionnaires. References to more basic considerations in this connection are available in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association* and the *Review of Educational Research* and should have been indicated.

The example for multiple prediction (pp. 294-297) deals almost exclusively with classification based on linear discriminant analysis. Reference to a basic survey of discriminant analysis by Tatsuoka and Tiedeman (1954) is absent. The student would be helped by more focal consideration of multiple prediction, by clarifying the distinction between problems of classification and selection and those of prediction, and by including references to Horst (1955), Kendall (1957), and the *Review of Educational Research* (1954, 1957).

Discussion of studies of transfer (pp. 314-315) could have been aided by reference to Osgood (1953), and to Gagné, Foster, and Crowley (1948). Treatment of laboratory vs. classroom learning is far too general. References to the *Journal of Experimental Psychology* and to the Michigan Symposium would be desirable.

It is unfortunate that the discussion of Latin squares appears in the context that discusses interaction effects (pp. 380-386). Reference to McNemar (1951) might help the student see that Latin squares are useful only when interaction effects can be safely ignored.

It is difficult to see how testing of hypotheses (pp. 388-389) can be discussed adequately without reference to the concepts of power of the statistical test and its power efficiency, classes of admissible hypotheses, etc. The discussion suffers from too great brevity and generality.

The treatment of experimental designs involving various control groups (pp. 352-353) could have been improved by reference to Solomon (1949) and to Cochran and Cox (1950).

Individual differences and block designs are too hastily discussed (p. 396). While correlation might have the advantage of familiarity, it is unfortunate that reference to the ideas of optimal response surfaces was omitted (Box and Wilson, 1951).

In discussions of representative design and in all references to Brunswik, it is disturbing to find his name consistently misspelled.

The section on data processing (pp. 401-413) could be substantially improved by reference to Wrigley's (1957) excellent summary.

The limitations indicated above might

possibly be debated in terms of where the boundary lies between considerations of simplification for an introduction, and those of completeness and accuracy. To the reviewer, the limitations observed appear to be attributable to haste in the writing.

Probably the most serious shortcoming of the book is to be found in Travers' discussion of action and operations research (pp. 65-67). Both treatments attack problems directly related to the operation of an enterprise. On the basis of this superficial resemblance, the author concludes that they "parallel closely." Reference to Corman's (1957) review of action research would help the student understand Travers' conclusion that action research has little in common with scientific research. Operations researchers, however, will take sharp issue with Travers' contention of similarity. They would suggest that the author include reference to McCloskey and Trefethen (1954), where the history of operations research is given by Trefethen and where operations research as science is discussed by Goodeve. A general discussion of various methods has also been given by Church, Achoff, and Angoff (1957). Operations researchers would add that action research probably will not become scientific until it becomes operations research—system analysis, model building (usually mathematical), optimizing by mathematical solution, testing by application, revision of models, and further extension by experimental work. The fruitfulness of operations research can be illustrated on a limited scale by reference to Cronbach and Gleser, *Psychological Tests and Personnel Decisions*. Since more and more operational research procedures are likely to be introduced into educational research of the future, the author's treatment of this topic is unfortunate.

Despite the limitations indicated, Travers' is still the best book currently available for an introduction to an educational research course. Almost all of the students in courses of this type are oriented toward careers in teaching or administration, where they will do little or no research of their own. Perhaps the greatest contribution of the book will be to acquaint them with the fact that education can progress only as research progresses.



The well of true wit is wit itself.

—GEORGE MEREDITH

Probably, but Why?

Edward D. Eddy, Jr.

The College Influence on Student Character. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1959. Pp. xii + 185. \$3.00.

Reviewed by RICHARD C. TEEVAN

who is Assistant Professor of Psychology at Smith College. He has been interested in research and trial-and-error on the teaching of undergraduates, ever since he was himself an undergraduate in contact with D. C. McClelland at Wesleyan ten years ago and at Michigan where he worked with W. J. McKeachie on problems of teaching. Just now he is concerned about the effects of fear of failure and is trying to devise a measure of the fear of failure. You need measurement, he thinks, to draw sound conclusions about motivation.

To review this book I had to face my own biases on college teaching. I found myself reading along with nodding head, agreeing with point after point, finding myself nearly in complete agreement with the author. Presently, however, I began to find difficulties in terms of the objectives of the book.

As the title suggests, the accent is on character. The author's purpose was to explore the relationship between intellectual training and its influence on character, to assess the influences on character of the college situation, and to gather information on what influences are being tried, which succeeds best, and what limitations exist. The method used was that of the participant observer. The principal observers, a young man and young woman who had recently graduated from college, lived with students in fraternities, sororities, and dormitories, went to class with students, ate with them, and had many discussions with them. They also interviewed faculty and staff members and attended some faculty committee sessions. The sample consisted of twenty colleges and universities extending from

California to New England, varying in size, type, and location. The emphasis was on the resident student, although three or four of the institutions had large commuting populations. The report is broken down into six areas which "we identified . . . as the strongest influences in the development of character."

The result is a well-written book, delightful to read and a gold mine of ideas for the college that is oriented for change and ready to experiment with an eye to progress. As a book designed to survey what is happening on various campuses and to challenge faculties to think about what they are doing and why, I believe it is very successful. This is, however, not all that the book purposes to do. One of its stated intents is assessment, and here I have many reservations. Let me first say that the idea of finding out about colleges from students is something of which I heartily approve. Too often we have the situation where this is about the only area in which the consumers of a product are ignored or only half-heartedly consulted. In this study, however, we have a situation with too few controls. Having strong biases in this area myself, it is easy to imagine that a great amount of selectivity could have taken place at various points in the study. The observers wrote up their interviews and observations several hours after they took place. Then later in the write-up of the report it is obvious that certain comments made by students and faculty would fit better into a chain of ideas than would others. As the author states in his first chapter, he recognized the difficulty and made an honest effort to avoid bias, but any psychologist knows that honest efforts are seldom enough. If they were, we could do away with much of the apparatus and many of the techniques that we consider mandatory in research. Many examples of the difficulty this led to could be cited. I shall name a few.

WHEN discussing participation, the author says, "from our observations we would conclude that the student who is involved in his own education is apt to develop a far deeper sense of actual responsibility for himself and for others."

Again in the area of participation the student who becomes sufficiently involved "senses why institutions of higher learning exist and what constitutes both their contribution to and responsibility for society." These statements make sense, but I don't understand how they could be said to come out of the method used. The section on religion also points up the possibility that quotations may unconsciously be selected to fit a certain view of the world.

A psychology professor is quoted to the effect that religion offers a common level of interest and challenge for the student. All of the material in this section would support the assumption that religion, if handled correctly, would contribute to good character. Nowhere in this section is there a quotation from anyone which might give the idea that religion may be a false foundation for morality—yet I know of so many who hold this view.

In no section did I find percentages given. Words like *many*, *some*, *a number of* abound with no idea whether this was a majority, one-half, one per cent, or what. This lack of precision makes it difficult for the reader to assess the power of the concept being discussed and also for the author to avoid selectivity. I am not suggesting conscious selectivity nor intimating that the author is often wrong. I happen to believe that he is right, but the method used gives me no real evidence on which to base my argument.

This is a book which should be read by every faculty member and administrator who is not perfectly satisfied with what he and his college are doing in the field of education. It contains good ideas on many facets of college life and is written in an entertaining and exciting manner. One should, however, approach it as a source of ideas, since it fails to give satisfactory evidence for its conclusions.



The man who does not read good books has no advantage over the man who can't read them.

—MARK TWAIN

The Myth of Race

Edgar T. Thompson and Everett C. Hughes (Eds.)

Race: Individual and Collective Behavior. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958. Pp. x + 619. \$7.50.

Reviewed by GEORGE LEVINGER

who is Assistant Professor of Social Research in the Department of Social Work and Social Research at Bryn Mawr College. He has a PhD from the University of Michigan, derived from four years of study and research at the Research Center for Group Dynamics there. He has been successively concerned with power relations in small groups, interaction in psychotherapy, and interpersonal perception and behavior in family groups.

THE thesis of this volume is that *race* is a social idea. The idea is "one of the many schismatic myths which have divided mankind into warring groups throughout history." Physical differences among racial groups are minimal when contrasted with the social and cultural cleavages associated with the idea.

Thompson and Hughes, two professors of sociology born on different sides of the Mason-Dixon Line, have compiled this book of readings to develop the reader's perspective on the problem of race. They have assembled 140 items which tap the experiences and insights of sociologists, philosophers, poets, jurists, correspondents, and racial minority members themselves. There are excerpts from the writings of Myrdal, Toynbee, Orwell, William James, Budd Schulberg, the United Press, and even from the comments of characters in fictional writings. Some of the most interesting pieces are the shortest: Kipling's *We and They*, Plato's notion of "race as a noble lie," Stringfellow Barr's *On the Chances of Being Born White*, and a French poem on *Negritude*. There are also numerous more scholarly pieces, sometimes given in their entirety, but usually severely abridged.

The readings have been chosen more to raise issues and stimulate thought

than to provide answers or 'cover ground.' At the start of each of the eight parts of the book, the editors offer general observations and pose thoughtful questions. These introductions are followed by sociological observations, literary passages, case studies, and other descriptive writings. There is little in the way of concepts, principles, or data. Near the end of the book, there is a subsection labeled *Theory and Research* consisting of seven pieces. Only one of them deals with theory; two discuss data; and the remaining four talk about doing research, rather than actually presenting findings.

Throughout, this reviewer was impressed by the array of interesting and insightful passages. Yet, while these morsels achieved their aim of stimulating his imagination and emotions, they left him hungry for more solid fare. To achieve breadth, depth has been sacrificed. Profound ideas are limited to a page or two and are presented without documentation. The impressions of journalists are preferred to the investigations of scientists. To achieve readability, tabular material, citations, and references are largely excluded. A 43-page bibliography, appended at the end of the volume, is divorced from the readings themselves.

The selection of the readings reflects the editors' personal preferences and seems to fulfill their goal of building perspective. Yet it must be noted that half of the articles are over twenty years old, and there is no discernible emphasis on current work. Empirical studies of social attitudes are omitted in the text and given scant mention in the bibliography. Regarding the development of racial self-conceptions, there are many anecdotal reports, but studies such as those of Clark or Horowitz are missing. Systematic research is similarly slighted in the section on race relations, which omits important studies conducted in the armed services and in housing projects. The editors nowhere present evidence to support their statement in the preface that "the idea of race is beginning to decline before the facts of biology, of politics, and of human nature."

In sum, one's reaction to this book

will depend on his orientation. If he is looking for a comprehensive view of racial differences and race relations, he is likely to be disappointed. If, how-

ever, one desires to broaden his acquaintance with penetrating social commentary and description, he could gain considerable insight from this volume.

Delinquency: Symposium and Glueckiana

Benjamin Karpman (Ed.)

Symposia on Child and Juvenile Delinquency: Presented at the American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D. C.: Psychodynamics Monograph Series, 1959. Pp. 364. \$10.00.

Sheldon Glueck (Ed.)

The Problem of Delinquency. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959. Pp. xiv + 1183. \$10.50.

Reviewed by BENJAMIN PASAMANICK

Dr. Pasamanick has been since 1955 Director of Research at the Columbus Psychiatric Institute and Professor of Psychiatry at Ohio State University's College of Medicine. He is a psychiatrist, who quite early after his MD worked at Yale and was exposed to Arnold Gesell. That got him into clinical child psychiatry. After that he was at the University of Michigan, in New York City, and at Johns Hopkins University in a variety of psychiatric capacities. He is the author—often jointly with others—of more than three score monographs and papers in his field.

THIS volume, *Child and Juvenile Delinquency*, is a confusing compendium of papers, discussions of papers, and commentary on severely disturbed, psychopathic, and delinquent children. Reflecting the seeming state of utter chaos in psychiatric thinking on the nature, etiology, prevention, treatment, and control of deviant children, this volume presents the contradictory points of view of an array of specialists who, to paraphrase a recurrent theme in this volume, are perhaps each partly right and probably wrong. There is little likelihood that the volume will inspire confidence in psychiatry as

a healing art. There is even less likelihood that partisans of other disciplines will be impressed by the scientific validity or the theoretical sophistication of much of the material in it.

The text consists of the transcriptions of five symposia on child psychopathy and delinquency. The symposia had been arranged and chaired by Benjamin Karpman and were presented over a number of years. All of the material had originally been presented to the American Orthopsychiatric Association and much of it has been published in the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*.

The first three symposia deal specifically with psychopathy, particularly as it is manifested in children. The participants immediately run into difficulty concerning the definition of psychopathy, its precursors, precipitants, manifestations, and psychopathology. They cannot agree, even after providing thumbnail clinical sketches, on the relation of psychopathy to delinquent behavior, or to the neurotic and psychotic categories of illness. The majority of the participants set forth the psychodynamic position and stress a psychogenic etiology, particularly disturbances in the mother-infant relationship with

its consequent disturbance in projection, identification, and objectification. Only Louis Lurie takes the constitutional-organic viewpoint. All are agreed that, whatever psychopathy may be, it is a comparatively rare condition.

THE last two symposia (Round Tables) deal more or less directly with delinquency. There were two excellent papers presented in these sessions, papers by Stella Chess and Leo Kanner, which, by virtue of their precision in thought, their grounding in experience and their clarity in statement—a rare combination, indeed—seemed both sound and intolerable to the remaining participants, becoming the bases for contention among those whose search for the cause of delinquency returns us to a point just short of the womb.

The paper by Chess, whose working locale is Harlem, focused on the sociological and economic aspects of delinquency causation. She rejects psychogenic etiological factors and individual psychotherapy as a form of treatment, except in cases where the delinquency is clearly a neurotic symptom. She argued that delinquency is neither predictable nor readily preventable on the basis of knowing and modifying home conditions. This temperate sociological point of view is anathema to Karpman who, along with L. A. Sontag and Melitta Schmideberg, is unalterably committed to early unfortunate intra-familial relationships as the source of delinquency.

Kanner, on the other hand, takes the approach of multiple causation and develops three types of predatory delinquency in childhood. These are (1) delinquency founded on brain pathology, (2) delinquency seemingly originating in the 'pathology' of relationships in the family, and (3) delinquency which can be ascribed to 'social dislocation.' Again, many of the participants were displeased with the first and third categories.

There remain a few additional points which deserve comment. First, this volume and the symposia on which it is based were designed to present an almost wholly parochial view of delinquency and to 'insulate' the participants from contact with divergent views and the specialists who can present them

fairly. Since the sociological framework is the 'straw man' in this work, it should have been incumbent upon the author, as chairman and program director, to include persons who are familiar with the sociological work in delinquency and competent in their field. Second, the papers are largely devoid of empirical data and the authors apparently are unaware of the mass of research, some of it worthwhile, which bears directly and crucially on the issues in question. Third, the substitute for empirical evidence utilized by many of the participants consists of citing others' statements and those of their teachers and mentors. This appeal to authority and to dogma is strikingly incongruous in scientific writing and discussion and, it is hoped, may be missing from future symposia on these currently critical issues.

IN sharp contrast to the Karpman volume, Sheldon Glueck has compiled an enormously diverse series of articles in *The Problem of Delinquency*. This volume, consisting of 186 previously published articles of varying lengths and worthiness in over 1100 pages of closely packed print, reflects the essential and continuing eclecticism of Sheldon Glueck on just about every aspect of delinquency. There is very little about the selections with which even a pedantic reviewer would choose to differ in this collection. Thus it is the omissions rather than the inclusions which are debatable. For example, the work of the Chicago school of criminologists is underplayed in comparison with men of far lesser stature whose work is included. There are no articles in this compendium by Edwin Sutherland, who was undoubtedly one of the greatest of all modern criminologists, or by any of his productive students with the exception of M. B. Clinard. It is interesting that Glueck includes a rebuttal to the differential association theory in article 41 but nowhere permits Sutherland to state his own case. The work of W. C. Reckless and his colleagues, of Edwin Lemert, Donald Cressey, Lloyd Ohlin, Nathan Glaser and others is cited but similarly excluded. Insofar as prevention and treatment are concerned, there is a notable absence of material on the

Chicago Area Project and the *Back of the Yards Movement*.

There is no doubt in this reviewer's mind that *The Problem of Delinquency* stands head and shoulders above any currently marketed book of readings in delinquency. It will probably be a much assigned and utilized reference source-book in delinquency and criminology courses. Its chief contribution, in his estimation, lies in Part II: *The Juvenile Court and the Law*. The 280 pages devoted to legal issues and considerations surrounding the juvenile court are classic and a necessity for anyone who is genuinely interested in and concerned with the unusual legal status of the court and the problems which are inherent in this status. This section includes legal decisions surrounding the problems of proof, disposition, custody, and basic constitutional issues. The cases and court decisions are a little heavy for the typical student but this is hardly an unmixed blessing.

The format of the volume includes four parts dealing with incidence and causation, the aforementioned juvenile court, treatment, and prevention. Part I reveals that the Gluecks are still enamored, at this late date, of the physique typology (originally developed in the most current idiom by Sheldon) and its relation to delinquency and are somewhat less taken with other theories than previously. It also reveals that Sheldon Glueck relegates psychologic aspects of delinquency to two articles on intelligence as a factor in delinquency, neither of them written by a psychologist. These are neatly sandwiched between seven articles on anthropologic-biological (i.e., hereditary-constitutional) factors and six on the psychiatric-psychoanalytic aspects, which are largely the latter.

Parts III and IV involve a standard treatment of the prevention and control of delinquency.

In an area as important as juvenile delinquency, it is painful to see such disparity in thinking, as exemplified by the Karpman and Glueck volumes, at a time when the problem demands action.



Originality is simply a fresh pair of eyes.

—T. W. HIGGINSON



INSTRUCTIONAL MEDIA

WITH this issue Dr. Arthur A. Lumsdaine of the American Institute for Research in Pittsburgh initiates what is almost a new department of INSTRUCTIONAL MEDIA, a metamorphosis of the older department of FILMS, which Dr. Manoil, after four years of patient viewing, has surrendered in order to assume enlarged administrative duties at Park College. *CP* is extremely fortunate in thus securing the use of Dr. Lumsdaine's catheches for the nurturance of this emerging butterfly. For its description and a prognosis of its immediate future, see the new department itself on later pages of this issue and what Lumsdaine has to say about it there.

DIRECTORY OF AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES

WHAT is this Directory of American Psychological Services which has just (1959) been published for 1960 in Glendale, Ohio, by the American Board for Psychological Services (x + 214 pp., \$1.50)? *CP* asked Theodore M. Newcomb, a wise guy and a member of that Board, and here is what he says.

Beginning with the rather sudden appearance of psychology as a profession on the horizons of the early forties, there has been an increasing demand felt by psychological associations, by universities, and by consumers of psychological services for information about the availability of competent and ethical psychological services. Along with this, there has been a less vocal but no less real interest on the part of the producers of such services in having their good qualities publicly acknowledged. Doctoral programs are evaluated and recommended, practicum training centers are studied and accredited; why not do the

same with agencies and individuals who offer psychological services to the public?

In 1948 the Committee on Psychological Service Centers of the American Psychological Association urged the Association to publish a directory of evaluated agencies to which the psychologically needy public could go with confidence. In 1954 this mounting demand, together with annually repeated committee recommendations, led to the creation of the American Board for Psychological Services. In 1957, the Board published its first Directory, and now we have its second edition, this *Directory of American Psychological Services—1960*.

While the title would seem to imply a rather complete listing of psychological services, the reader soon finds that there are only 180 entries. This edition is, however, larger by 64 entries than its predecessor and it is my guess that the best of American public psychological services are sampled and represented in this descriptive list of clinical, counseling, industrial and research services in the United States and Canada.

The organization of the Directory is simple. Each evaluated agency or individual is given a full page on which to describe services and fees and to give other desirable information. In addition to the 180 page-listings, the Directory includes a helpful list of all Diplomates of the American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology and their cities of address so that the reader may call on Diplomates for advice in case no psychological service has been approved and listed in the reader's locality.

The Directory is not complete, and probably not even representative of the totality of adequate services offered to the American public. It is, however, significant that a second as well as a first edition has appeared. It is a labor of love on the part of its successive presidents, Drs. Nathan Kohn and Karl Heiser, on the part of the American Psychological Association, which has contributed a good deal of financial support for many years, on the part of the

listed agencies, most of which do not need to advertise for further clients but which have nonetheless paid for their own 'investigation.' All these efforts have made it possible for a larger sector of the public to know more about where to go for reputable psychological services than ever before.

Public support for psychology will grow if the public is well served by psychology. This directory is one of the profession's ways of trying to serve the public well.

PHENOMENOLOGY AND EXISTENTIALISM

A BRITISH phenomenologist, one of *CP*'s friends, sent *CP* a copy of the first volume (1954) of a journal called *Situation* and hoped that *CP* could comment on the movement discussed there. *CP* is all for having any half of psychology know how the other half thinks, believing that the Americans are going to need to understand about European phenomenology and existentialism before they decide what to do about it. Most people think the Americans are going to reject the new faith and they have reasons that they can state and do, but prediction is dangerous. The *Zeitgeist* shows clear trends a posteriori but it is a poor guide to the future. So *CP* hunted around to find some one competent to assess *Situation* and it found Professor Theodore Landsman of the University of Florida. Here is what he has to say, and, if you do not agree with him, that is all the more reason for your listening.

A universal, culture-free, declarative introduces the reader to the remarkable journal *Situation*, subtitled *Contributions to Phenomenological Psychology and Psychopathology*. "Now here's a situation!" states Dr. F. J. J. Buytendijk in the *Avant-propos*. This statement recalls man in "sad coincidence, complication, . . . tragic, ridiculous, troubled and confused." The journal and its title serve to focus upon the human being in a situation, temporal, spatial, phenomenological.

The journal is published in Utrecht (J. Linschoten, editorial secretary, Wittevrouwenstraat 9) and accepts articles in any one of three languages: French, German, and English. In addition to Dr. Buytendijk and Mr. Linschoten, its editors are Dr. J. H. VandenBerg and Dr. M. J. Langeveld. The first of its annual issues was in

1954 and was the one which I had opportunity to examine with the assistance in translation of Dr. Armin Moskovic and Dr. F. R. Lagassee. There were no articles in the English language for this first issue.

Its contributors represent a wide range of kinds of phenomenology, classic or Husserlian and Existentialistic. Perhaps the existentialists predominate. No doubt contributions from experimental or perceptual phenomenologists who predominate in the United States would be welcomed.

Here is a view of the content: the distinction between hope of the incurable and real hope, the psychology of the patient, the resolution of an apparent ideational conflict between love and marriage, a sophisticated psychological view of the phenomenology of the child, the psychology of emptiness, space, celestial space, the horizon as a phenomenological construct, and on the road and endless distance.

An unusual article, *Der Begriff des Heilen*, by O. F. Bollnow, will be welcome and familiar to American readers. It takes existentialists to task for concentrating on the depressive abyss and not paying more attention to the psychology of health or healing.

It must be noted that there is not a single table of data in the journal's 260 pages; its psychopathological orientation is apparent in the examples chosen mostly from medical practice—a woman with incurable breast cancer, the doctor expressing his doubts about recovery by a gesture to an anxious relative. Poetry also is often called upon, with effectiveness, to illustrate meaning.

One must say with some sadness that American psychology will see in this journal madness without method, but I want to point out that this is a problem for all Phenomenology and not for this journal alone. Perhaps also it is a problem which the existence of such a journal will tend to solve. Many feel that phenomenology is a brilliant idea without an engineer. The constructive direction toward methodology is apparent in this journal, particularly in Dr. Buytendijk's charming and pointed introduction.

This kind of a journal, like phenomenology itself, comes from a keen conviction: that current experimental methodologies are contributing inadequately to the knowledge of the more obscure but more meaningful aspects of human existence. "To be in a situation is identical to being a human creature—to exist," says Dr. Buytendijk. I would heartily but cautiously commend *Situation* then to those unfortunately few American psychologists who are interested in this broadened view of psychology and

who might wish to contribute to the development of its methodology.

THE EPILEPTIC PERSONALITY

A BOOK that "presents an excellent summary of all that is known (precious little) about the epileptic personality"—George Albee's assessment when *CP* asked him about it—is J. Delay, P. Pichot, T. Lempérière, and J. Perse, *The Rorschach and the Epileptic Personality*, translated from French by Rita and Arthur L. Benton (Logos Press, 1958, xx + 265 pp., \$6.00). *CP* reviewed the French edition in July 1956 (1, 220). "One can hardly imagine a more difficult research goal in psychology," says Albee, "than an attempt to measure personality in the epileptic with the Rorschach. . . . This book is a good place to begin for anyone who hopes to grapple with this complex question, but most psychologists will be seeking research goals which should not start from here."

TEXTBOOKS TO COME

W. J. McKEACHIE, who is replacing C. E. Buxton as one of *CP*'s consultants, has this to say about some forthcoming textbooks.

Every teacher knows the weaknesses of the text he is currently using, and most teachers feel that their own approaches are uniquely valuable. As a result it's not surprising that many teachers become textbook writers. Textbook publishers, avidly reading the statistics on the approaching tidal wave of students, are scouting textbook writers as actively as football coaches scout top high-school quarterbacks, and the result is an increasing number of additions, each of which hopes to appeal to an important segment of the market as well as to contribute to education in psychology.

B. R. Bugelski's *An Introduction to the Principles of Psychology* (Rinehart) will be systematic. He says, "What I have tried to avoid is the sequence of separate and unrelated chapters that you can read in any order. . . . The emphasis is Hull-Hebb. . . . A lot of Skinner is in it although Skinnerites will probably burn me for misunderstanding the leader. . . . The emphasis is on an 'integrated' man, not one who thinks, then learns, then emotes, etc."

William R. Thompson of Wesleyan Uni-

versity is writing a book entitled *A Systematic Approach to Modern Psychology* (McGraw-Hill) which, as implied in the title, is intended to combine a systematic approach with broad factual coverage. The chapter titles indicate a radical departure from the usual elementary textbook. They include *Psychoanalytic Models*, *Behavioristic Models*, *Physiological Models*, and *Search for Unity*. Thompson plans to bring in the usual empirical material covered in a first course as answers to questions raised by the theories.

Another theory-oriented book will be *Psychology* by Allen D. Calvin, Michael Scriven, James J. Gallagher, F. Joseph McGuigan, James McConnell, and Charles Hanley (Allyn and Bacon). These authors believe that no one author can satisfactorily present current scientific activity in psychology. They hope to come out in the Spring of 1960 with a hardheaded book to fill the spot formerly held by Boring, Langfeld, and Weld.

Contrasting with these books will be *Psychology: An Introduction to the Study of Human Behavior* by Henry Clay Lindgren and Donn Byrne (Wiley). Lindgren and Byrne see the major lack in current texts as the lack of "bridges whereby the student can find his way into the field." Rather than writing for other psychologists, they are concerned with the kind of questions students ask. Consequently, they will emphasize personality, social psychology and applied psychology.

Just gathering momentum is an effort by Max Hutt, Milton Blum, and Robert Isaacson which is as yet untitled (Harper). It will be aimed at giving the students more of an awareness of how psychologists approach their science and smaller quantities of ponderous data. Again, in this book there will be a heavy emphasis on behavioral theory.

—E. G. B.



The greatest of human delusions is that there is a tangible goal, and not just direction towards an ideal aim. The idea that a goal can be obtained perpetually frustrates human beings, who are disappointed at never getting there, never being able to stop.

—STEPHEN SPENDER



Psychoanalysts on Adolescence

Ruth S. Eissler, Anna Freud, Heinz Hartmann, and Marianne Kris (Eds.)

The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child. Vol. XIII. New York: International Universities Press, 1958. Pp. 573. \$8.50.

Reviewed by EMMY SYLVESTER

Dr. Sylvester is a Training Analyst in the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute and Associate Chief of Psychiatry at the Mount Zion Hospital in San Francisco. She has her PhD in psychology and her MD both from the University of Vienna. She had practiced in Chicago for some years at the Michael Reese Hospital and the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute, and she has been in San Francisco since 1951.

IN the current volume the genetic approach—one of the outstanding interests of this annual—is extended into the field of epistemology. In particular, Heinz Hartmann's article, as well as various of his comments elsewhere throughout the book, might be described as a "developmental diagnosis of psychoanalysis as a young science"—with predictions of its future growth. He urges that considerations of methodology, systematization, and validation be governed by the developmental stage of the science no less than by its intrinsic properties and characteristics, and that this consideration guide not only the scientific endeavors of those who work for progress within the science, but also the criticism of those who view the work in progress from afar.

We are told that Freud's original design of psychoanalysis as a science of general psychology has not yet reached its full growth. It is still in a state of flux and uneven proliferation; its "state of systematization is still low, many of its terms still ambiguous, and certain of its hypotheses still insufficiently differentiated as to their closeness to observation or as to the degree to which they have been confirmed." Such imperfections, the argument continues, must be acknowledged as inevitable concomitants of the growth of a science—an attitude

contrary to a defeatist *laissez faire*, however, since something can be done about them. Validation, systematic excellence, and methodological purity are obviously desirable and must be continuously striven for—although not in such degree as to curtail the imaginative reach of ongoing work. The matrix of psychoanalysis, Hartmann insists, can be considered aside from phase-determined factors and supplies those scientific findings which can be evaluated and communicated within and beyond its own confines. Among these characteristics are:

1. The specifically psychoanalytic approach to behavioral data: in contrast to other behavioral sciences, psychoanalysis approaches behavior with a specific explanatory intent directed at mental processes, at meaning, and at motivation. Behavior must therefore be described on different levels and in ways removed from overt manifestations and free from immediate experience.

2. The close connection that exists in psychoanalysis between even the simplest observational fact and the totality of a theory of high complexity, one which as yet cannot be simplified or reformulated.

3. Problems of prediction and experimentation specific to psychoanalysis arise from the high number of variables, which cannot be reduced without sacrificing the distinctive complexity of the personality phenomena under study or experimentation.

4. Research in psychoanalysis must contend with the problems of measurement and quantification of psychic processes. These data, however, defy direct measurement, although relative estimates are possible. When more accurate measurements are possible more exact quantification will be achieved.

PSYCHOANALYSIS as a general psychology is well represented in this vol-

ume. It is perhaps more than an amusing coincidence that there are five major contributions to the phenomena of adolescence in this, the thirteenth, volume of an annual publication that has demonstrated its own potential for dynamic growth during its teenage life span. (The twelve preceding volumes contain only seven titles which refer specifically to this age-phase.) Interest in the psychoanalytic psychology of adolescence as a developmental phase especially engages Leo Spiegel, who contrasts this general orientation with the clinical approach to psychopathology and rehabilitation of individual adolescents.

In the brief period since its publication, Anna Freud's article, *Adolescence*, has already become a classic. Her exposition of the concept "defense against the infantile object ties" is a "must" for psychologists and psychoanalysts alike, be their orientation clinical or theoretical, and regardless of their interest in any special age-group. It is interesting to compare these current formulations on the phenomena of adolescence with those of 1936, when she approached the problem from the vantage point of the mechanisms of defense (*The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*). At that time she showed similarities between the phenomena of adolescence and those of certain emotional disorders. In the current paper she amplifies this structural description by the addition of certain specifics "exclusive to this period and characteristic for it." Thus she, too, seems to have shifted her emphasis from comparative psychopathology to matters of phase-specificity.

A wide range of fascinating methodological approaches, going far afield from the usual clinical methods, is introduced in the volume. For instance, the co-authors, Ishak Ramzy and R. S. Wallerstein, and Max Schur too, present the speculative approach of the "theoretical clarifier"—a painstaking inside job leading towards the ultimate systematization of psychoanalytic therapy. Also, René Spitz's scheme for organizing the precursory phenomena of the preverbal stages of development as *Primordia* is quite unique. He subjects direct observations of infants to ontogenetic and phylogenetic scrutiny and proceeds to

RECENT ADDITIONS

to

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TOWARD UNDERSTANDING HUMAN PERSONALITIES

By *Robert Leeper* and *Peter Madison*. While it does not neglect the contributions of psychotherapists and anthropologists, this book is based primarily on the findings of experimental psychologists, dealing with problems of learning, concept-formation, perception, and motivation. The emphasis is on the psychology of the normal person rather than abnormal psychology. Following five chapters of

concrete material, the main psychological aspects and problems of personality are dealt with in more generalized terms concerning motivation, strategies of living and learning. A number of detailed case histories illustrate the text, which is intended for college courses in personality, mental hygiene, and psychology of adjustment.

Just published.

PRIVATE PRACTICE IN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY

By *Theodore H. Blau*. The varied aspects of private practice in clinical psychology are discussed and analyzed in this text, which is the first in its field to deal specifically with the usual and unusual situations and problems faced by the psychologist in practice. It provides a detailed discussion of the interest in private practice to date and a careful

review of the necessary background and experience. The types of people who are likely to apply for help are discussed. Methodology, such as the taking of case histories, is fully treated. Discussions of psychotherapy and of the responsibilities of the psychologist are included.

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535 pages, \$6.00.

Student's Workbook, 138 pages, \$1.00.

Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.

35 W. 32 St., New York 1, N.Y.

confront certain findings of ecology and experimental psychology with the developmental propositions of psychoanalytic ego psychology. This approach does not appear in his previous contributions to the annual but forms the matrix of his recent brilliant book, *No and Yes* (1958).

THIS reviewer is particularly interested in the methodological aspects of the *Gifted Adolescent Project* and of the *Longitudinal Study in Child Development* as being conducted at Yale. These projects are a tribute to the late Ernst Kris, who devised their design and integrated their progression with the full force of his genius for inventiveness and for fact-finding, systematization, and scientific leadership. Interim reports of both studies (Samuel Ritvo and Albert J. Solnit: *Early Identification Processes* is the sample of the Yale study) were presented at the Kris Memorial meeting. Discussion of the reports by various authorities in the field is included in this volume.

Both of the above-mentioned projects suggest useful criteria for distinguishing between valid investigation and what might be called wild research—a timely distinction in this age of mushrooming research projects! The two studies are so set up as to permit continuous two-way checking of observational data and theoretical hypotheses, thus preventing the amorphous accumulation of data and facilitating the expansion of developmental theories. Particular attention is given to the conditions under which direct observations achieve scientific validity. Intensive observation periods are contrasted with spot observation; limited cross-sectional observations are weighed against longitudinal studies conducted recurrently by the same team of observers, each of whom is in a meaningful relationship to the child; the yield from occasional observation of large numbers of children is compared with collection of data from intensive observation of a limited number of children whose personality structure is microscopically checked by the technique of child psychoanalysis. In the study on maternal personalities, which is part of the Yale study, the predictive value of data on overt behavior is com-

pared with the predictive value of clues from unconscious material.

The *Gifted Adolescent Study* considers, among other elements, the group dynamic factors in cooperative research: for instance, the way in which a researcher's attitude towards his subject may be altered by recurrent discussion of the subject's material, the optimal

size of the group, its stability, the effect which status-differences among the researchers may have on group exchange as a device for validation.

In conclusion one may say that this group of authors stands up well to Hartmann's requirements of scientific conscience.

Unraveling Sociology's Skein

Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (Eds.)

Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects. New York: Basic Books, 1959.

Pp. xxxiv + 623. \$7.50.

Reviewed by OSCAR GRUSKY

Dr. Grusky is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of California at Los Angeles. He was trained in social psychology at the University of Michigan and believes that the social psychologist needs to have both psychology and sociology in his repertoire. His main interest at present lies in the social psychology of formal organizations, and next spring he will be teaching a graduate course in the theory and problems of social psychology.

WILLIAM JAMES' initial conclusion in *The Principles of Psychology* maintained that knowledge of the physiology of the brain was of fundamental importance to the student of psychology. Accordingly, in a delightful footnote, he suggests that "Nothing is easier than to familiarize one's self with the mammalian brain. Get a sheep's head, a small saw, chisel, scalpel and forceps . . . and unravel its parts." A modern William James, behavioral-scientist type, would very likely insist on adding some of the conceptual tools of sociology to the basic training of the psychologist and suggest that the neophyte sheepishly move to the head of the bookstore line so as to be sure to obtain a copy of *Sociology Today*. Not that this volume would be sufficient equipment, by any means, but it does represent an outstanding instrument for unraveling the contemporary sociological brain.

Sociology Today, surely a thinking man's book, is devoted not to describing the current state of sociology but rather to isolating some of its "significant theoretical, empirical, or procedural problems." To this end the distinguished editors, Robert K. Merton, past president of the American Sociological Society, Leonard Broom, former editor of the *American Sociological Review*, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., editor of *Sociometry*, selected papers by 28 leading sociologists and social psychologists in fields ranging from A for the sociology of Art through U for Urban sociology. The book is divided into five parts: theory and methods, sociology of institutions, the group and the person, problems in demography and social structure, and selected applied areas.

Those principles which always seem applicable to collections of this sort are equally appropriate to this one: namely, some important subjects are omitted (these are noted in the Foreword), some are handled inadequately (see below), and the tone of the authors is redundantly optimistic. The age of sociology is almost but not quite upon us.

MUCH about modern sociology can be gleaned from his lengthy work. This young discipline attempts to swallow problems whose sheer bulk at times induces regurgitation, yet its need persists; the whole procedure is impressive. The sociology of almost everything is in

here. On the other hand, that will-o'-the-wisp, social psychology, is everywhere and nowhere to be found. Its problematics are touched upon in almost a dozen different chapters, including the three specifically devoted to *The Group and the Individual*, but unfortunately never with an eye toward viewing the strategic conflicts of the field as a whole.

What is social psychology to the sociologist? Where is it going and what are its prospects? What have been some of its persistent problems since Ross wrote the first textbook 51 years ago? Surprisingly enough, a similar set of questions could appropriately be raised concerning the treatment given the strategic problems of social stratification, which probably constitutes the single strongest field in sociology. It becomes quickly apparent that the high degree of specialization and the lack of an historical perspective which pervade many parts of this volume (and perhaps both psychology and sociology today) are not without their serious dysfunctions. The excellent over-all quality of the separate contributions, however, tends to temper the wish for both codification and a larger perspective.

There are three kinds of chapters in this book: those that focus on a particular problem within a subfield of sociology, those that are basically reviews of what has been done (with a host of brief suggestions of what could and should be done) in a subfield, and finally those that artfully interlace an overview of past work with the formation of new perspectives on key problems. S. M. Lipset's chapter on political sociology, P. F. Lazarsfeld's problems in methodology, and Kingsley Davis' on demography are examples of those deserving of a place in this last and rather select category. The full-sized introduction by Merton not only constitutes a contribution to the sociology of science but also valiantly attempts to tie together the mass of sociological problems presented. And the book has a good ending too—a cogent treatise on sociology as a teaching enterprise by C. H. Page which academicians, in particular, will enjoy. Psychologists should find *Sociology Today* a valuable and easily accessible sheep's head.

What the Medical Student Is Like

Helen Hofer Gee and Robert J. Glaser

The Ecology of the Medical Student. (Report of the Fifth Teaching Institute, Association of American Medical Colleges, Atlantic City, 15–19 Oct. 1957.) Evanston, Ill.: Association of American Medical Colleges, 1958. Pp. xxvi + 262. \$3.00 (cloth), \$2.00 (paper).

Reviewed by WOODROW W. MORRIS

who is Associate Dean of the College of Medicine of the State University of Iowa, Professor of Psychology in its Department of Psychiatry, and also of recent years Director of the Institute of Gerontology. He writes from within for, in association with John Cowles, he was instrumental in organizing the Fourth and Fifth Teaching Institutes of the Association of American Medical Colleges.

THIS volume, along with three others, represents what might be regarded as the 'open door' policy in the relations between the medical schools and the behavioral sciences.

The first of these three other volumes, chronologically, is the report of the proceedings of a meeting of psychologists in medical schools (Knopf, 1957) who, being vitally interested in medical education, gathered more or less on their own, insofar as the medical schools were concerned, to get acquainted with each other and to examine mutual interests and common problems and goals.

The second is the report of the Fourth Teaching Institute of the Association of American Medical Colleges edited by Helen Hofer Gee and John T. Cowles (1957). In the preface to this report Dean George Packer Berry of the Harvard Medical School said: "Medical deans and teachers opened the doors of their medical schools to their university colleagues in psychology" and, having done so, found vigorous stimulation to seek answers along novel and different

pathways in their considerations of the problems inherent in student evaluation.

The present review concerns the second of two institutes focused on the general topic *Evaluation of the Medical Student*. Sandwiched between these was the publication of Merton, Reader, and Kendall's volume entitled *The Student-Physician: Introductory Studies in the Sociology of Medical Education* (1957).

These four volumes should make good reading for all medical school deans and teachers and for psychologists and sociologists in general, particularly those who now are absorbed in the educational process in the modern university health center or hope to become so; liberal arts faculties, too, will find these books of value for a better understanding of the current ferment in medical education.

Looking at the Institutes from the vantage point of one who participated in the planning and execution of each of them, I would single out two factors still being much discussed two and three years later. These are (1) what selection is bringing into the medical schools and (2) what medical education is bringing into the profession. The problem is how to select and to educate without a clear-cut model of the 'good physician' upon which to base criteria for either selection or education. Indeed, prior to the entrance of the reports of these two teaching institutes upon the scene, much of the data concerning non-intellectual characteristics, interests, and attitudes of medical students and the changes throughout the medical course were but little known by those most concerned, i.e., the deans and the medical faculties.

For example, E. Lowell Kelly, at the 1956 Teaching Institute, reported on some of the changes in interest patterns of Michigan medical students. In part, he found, over four years of medical teaching, a shift of interests away from the social service toward the interests of the banker and business man.

WHILE this sort of finding was found to be disturbing to the medical teachers in 1956, imagine their response to reports in the current volume by psychologist Leonard Eron "that medical students, as they progress through medical school, increase in the verbal ex-

pression of cynical attitudes and conscious symptoms of anxiety and decrease in the expression of humanitarian feelings." It is reassuring to find so many medical administrators and teachers not only interested and concerned with this finding but also encouraging their psychologist colleagues to pursue this kind of research further.

The 1956 Institute brought the psychologists to the rostrum and the medical participants were impressed by their honest, frank, self-evaluative search for knowledge. The 1957 Institute, on which this volume is based, gave the sociologists a share of the stage with their behavioral scientist colleagues. The sociologists gave a good account of themselves, indeed—particularly Robert K. Merton with a senior assist from the psychologist Richard Christie. Strikingly similar to the above noted report of cynicism-up, humanitarianism-down by Eron is the reported space-age finding of Christie and Merton with reference to increased "Mach IV"! This is their designation for a 4th revision of a scale devised by Christie based upon statements taken from Machiavelli's *The Prince* and *The Discourses*. Strictly speaking, high scores on the scale reflect the degree of agreement with statements made by Machiavelli, but it is clear that these statements are ones descriptive of cunning, deceit, cynicism and related attitudes and that medical students tended to endorse these statements.

These findings raise a number of questions which are unanswered in the book but which have become grist for the mills of behavioral scientists and medical teachers since the Teaching Institute. Are the data regarding 'cynicism,' 'humanitarianism,' and 'manifest anxiety,' for example, general or peculiarly specific to the students in the eastern medical schools studied? Are they unitary traits, or could 'cynicism' and 'humanitarianism' as described and measured be opposite ends of a continuum? What relation do the procedures of selection and, after selection, environment of the medical school bear to the initial presence or absence of such traits and their development or change?

Hints, but no answers, are to be found concerning these and other ques-

tions in the thoughtful papers of the Institute. Part I stresses 'diversity' and closes with a cogent discussion of the implications of diversity by the psychiatrist Daniel H. Funkenstein (*CP, Mastery of Stress*, Mar. 1958, 3, 66f.). Also worthy of special note in this section is William Schofield's excellent discussion of vocational choice and career evaluation.

Part II takes up factors affecting medical students. This section fails to create a feeling of live factors affecting living students. Much of the space is devoted to reporting statistical results of a pre-institute survey concerning ecological factors.

The final section describes educational

patterns in medicine, including novel and traditional programs and a sparkling and erudite paper by John R. Ellis on the student in the British pattern of medical education.

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Retardation: A New Look

Richard L. Masland, Seymour B. Sarason, and Thomas Gladwin

Mental Subnormality: Biological, Psychological, and Cultural Factors. New York: Basic Books, 1959. Pp. 442. \$6.75.

Reviewed by IRA ISCOE

Dr. Iscoe is Associate Professor of Psychology at the University of Texas and a Diplomate in Clinical Psychology. At Texas he is studying the scholastic failures of its students and discovering the great degree in which motivational difficulties account for intellectual ineptitudes. See his review of Farnsworth's Mental Health in College and University (Harvard Univ. Press, 1957; CP, Sept. 1958, 3, 269f.). He is also involved in studying the mentally retarded and is a consultant to the Texas Board for Special Schools. Again he feels that mutable motivational difficulties have been overlooked in considering the treatment of the retarded.

MENTAL subnormality ranks with mental illness as one of the most pressing social problems in our increasingly complex culture. Although it has been with us for a long time, its challenge has been met by apathy and neglect on society's part. Psychologists have devoted comparatively little re-

search time and energy to this complex order of human behavior, even though psychological tests in one form or another are most frequently the means of classifying and separating the 'haves' from the 'have nots.' Only within recent years have the natural and behavioral sciences begun to recognize that the study of the mentally subnormal can provide a better understanding of the normal, as well as shed light on the prevention and amelioration of this persistent condition itself.

Aware of the many ramifications of the problem and the need for some new perspectives, the National Association for Retarded Children "commissioned" these authors to survey and evaluate the widely scattered literature to date. Their product is not just another book about mental retardation containing advice to parents and teachers, replete with nostrums and ex cathedra pronouncements. It is a critical and provocative inquiry into the relevant biological, psychological, and cultural fac-

tors, pointing to the inadequacies of previous concepts and to the hopeful trends for the future. Free copies of the book have been sent to many professional workers. Essentially the same material has been previously published in the *American Journal of Mental Deficiency* for May 1958, in the *Genetic Psychology Monographs* (1958, 57, 3-290), as well as in Sarason's latest revision of his *Psychological Factors in Mental Deficiency* (Harper's, 1958). Such wide dissemination is most commendable.

At the outset, a distinction is made between *mental deficiency* and *mental retardation*. The former encompasses those conditions where organic factors are known to be of primary causation; the latter includes those conditions where such factors are not now known to be operative. The utility of such a division for research progress is stressed by the authors in spite of the impossibility of complete separation.

THE section by Masland takes up roughly one-third of the book. He is Assistant Director of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness of the U. S. National Institute of Mental Health. His review should be read by most psychologists, especially those who favor the psyche and tend to ignore the soma. It is a thorough, informative, and sobering presentation of neurological, biochemical, and genetic factors as causative agents in mental deficiency. Apparently we still have a great deal to learn about prenatal influences, and there are many ways in which a developing organism can be injured with resulting intellectual deficits. The data about diet during pregnancy and the subsequent IQs of offspring illustrate once again the complex interrelationship between hereditary, congenital, and environmental factors. Masland points out that brain damage can and does exist throughout the whole range of intelligence. His concept of "subclinical" brain damage is one that few clinical psychologists who have had experience with retarded or disturbed children would quarrel with. Pediatric neurology, it appears, is still in its infancy. Amongst Masland's recommendations are the location of new

training schools in close proximity to medical schools and university centers. This relationship would stimulate research, give young physicians more experience in the area, and result in better preventive measures and earlier discovery. It is to be hoped that this consideration will rise above the political pressures and public attitudes which have in the past frequently served to isolate the training schools culturally and intellectually.

The second portion deals with psychological and cultural factors. Sarason of Yale requires little introduction, especially to psychologists who have worked in the area. He collaborates with Gladwin, an anthropologist who is currently Social Science Consultant of the Community Service Branch in the National Institute of Mental Health. They note how the lack of any solid theoretical framework within which to study mental retardation has handicapped productive research. They do not themselves formulate a theory, but they present some tempting leads which would tend to bring the field of retardation closer to the area of personality development and psychopathology. Quite naturally the whole concept of the IQ comes in for its usual beating, especially as it is currently employed. These authors tell us that the diagnosis of retardation is a highly variable one, rooted in norms of middle-class derivation and frequently made on the basis of a single time sample of the person's behavior. Being classified as "retarded" may lead to a whole series of environmental and attitudinal changes which serve in many cases to reinforce the original diagnosis. Thus Sarason and Gladwin rightfully decry the unwarranted assumptions that are frequently made between the level of test-performance and the actual level of functioning in the environment. Large discrepancies often exist between intellectual status and social competence. The authors call, therefore, for more research to test problem-solving ability in 'non-test' situations.

SINCE a good portion of the mentally retarded are confined to institutions, they ask also for a study of the process of institutionalization. Apparently there

are some situations in which institutionalization results in improvement; perhaps institutions need not be as emotionally crippling as we now believe. Social and developmental psychologists could well further our knowledge of this important issue.

Sufficient evidence is presented to warrant at least a reexamination of such time-hallowed notions as "rigidity," "concreteness," "lack of affect," and preference for monotonous repetitive activities. One is left with a greater respect for the learning potential of the retarded when the conditions are right. The problem is to find these conditions. The 'garden-variety' category comes under suspicion and there is the implication that it will shrink as our knowledge of etiology increases.

The crux of the many issues raised is, for this reviewer at least, made clear by the authors' insistence that mental retardation is not solely a limitation of intelligence. Intelligence has an impact on the environment and in turn is acted upon. The nature and extent of this interaction is something that at present remains in the stage of conjecture. Although we have clinical 'hunches' about the effect of parental attitudes, of the accumulation of successive failures, and of different environments, we have as yet not applied the methods of social science to the systematic study of these relationships.

The authors make further recommendations, such as cross-cultural research in pathology, longitudinal studies, the examination of the relationship between psychosis and subnormality, and the establishment of a central research center. They have mixed humanism with science and produced a 'new look' at the entire problem of mental subnormality. To the psychologist whose curiosity is tempted, the book as a whole opens new vistas and as such fulfills its purpose.



Truths painfully won are apt to be defended with great tenacity. . . . What began as a piece of insight hardens into a conviction and may at the end petrify into a prejudice.

—ERNEST JONES

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Treat All, Not Each

Nathan W. Ackerman

The Psychodynamics of Family Life: Diagnosis and Treatment of Family Relationships. New York: Basic Books, 1958. Pp. xvi + 379. \$6.75.

Reviewed by PAULINE SNEDDEN SEARS

who is Associate Professor of Education at Stanford University and has long been concerned with understanding the problems of the relations between children's parents and the parents' children. She is a Diplomate in Clinical Psychology and most recently reviewed the two Winnicott books on the child in CP (Feb. 1959, 4, 41f.).

Is 'togetherness' of a family now to extend to the therapist's couch? Are husbands, wives, adolescents, and young children to go to joint sessions with the therapist, in pairs or threesomes? This is the recommendation of Dr. Ackerman's new book on the functioning, diagnosis, and treatment of the family group. Emotional disturbance, he feels, can profitably be examined at three levels: (1) what goes on psychically within one person, (2) what happens between this person and his human environment, and (3) what is distorted in the social processes of the environment itself.

The author feels that the traditional psychoanalytic approach of dealing solely with the individual patient is inadequate for a sound and broad program of preventive mental health. He advocates study, by the therapist, of the dynamics of the total family group and on "to the complex weave of the interrelations of individual, family, and the wide community." This means a more active role for the therapist in the interests of more effective prevention of emotional disturbance, and, according to this author, will result also in a more effective approach to individual problems because the human environment in which the patient lives is understood and perhaps modified concurrently with

exploration of his individual problems. This type of approach is documented by a number of case studies and should prove a stimulating and controversial idea to many clinicians. Unfortunately, the author does not discuss specifically the problems of resistance and transference which might be encountered in the use of such a procedure, but further investigation of the indications for this method will no doubt be forthcoming.

In addition to the therapeutic methods considered, a major part of the book is a theoretical formulation of the variables involved in the psychodynamics of the family and its members. These concepts Ackerman applies to clinical and research aspects of mental health as well as to the therapeutic. His final chapter attempts to find a reasonable ground for value orientations which will promote emotional well-being. How well does this theoretical formulation serve to advance each of these areas?

FIRST, as to what his theory consists in. Ackerman has drawn from three main groups of theorists: sociologists such as Florence Kluckhohn, Spiegel, Burgess, Parsons, and Riesman; the neo-Freudian group, including Kardiner, Erikson, and Fromm; and lastly the holistic-dynamic social psychologists, including Gardner Murphy, Lewin, and Maslow. Ackerman attempts to develop a small core of concepts by which the psychosocial dynamics of family life may be operationally defined and diagnosed, and hypotheses developed as to predicted courses of development, particularly the response to therapy. These variables, at his present writing, fall into the following groups: (1) psychological identity, which subsumes strivings, expectations, and values; (2) stability of behavior, expressed as (a) the continuity of identity in time, (b) the control of conflict, and (c) the capacity to change, learn, and achieve further development, adaptability, and complementarity in role relationships. This scheme is used in the examination of family identity, stability, breakdown; family diagnosis; and disturbances of marital and parental relationships. Discussion of the goals and techniques of psychotherapy follows, with reports of research and the establishment of value

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orientation for the broad field of mental health winding up the volume.

WHILE the author's aim is to provide theoretical relevance to the investigation of the social psychology of family life in general, the clinical material with which he deals comes from families which have sought help for emotional difficulties. Thus, on the basis of his detailed exploration of 50 families, he considers that he can tentatively identify seven types of family adaptation. It is depressing to observe that within these seven types there is scarcely a positive attribute to be found. As yet no techniques have been developed for comparison of families, or for assignment to a place on a dimension in one or another respect, although many of his variables appear to be amenable to rough quantification. Dr. Ackerman seems afraid that interaction among the variables cannot be adequately handled if comparisons are made.

Study of disturbed families as a basis for building a theory of family functioning can easily lead to a narrowing of vision as to constructive modes of adjustment. It is likely that, while the factors which contribute to emotional malfunctioning are finite and possibly not overwhelming in number, the ways in which healthy, adequately functioning adjustment can be obtained are indeed many and diverse. The culture tells rather clearly, even to the small child, what is 'bad.' The 'good,' in a free society, is left largely to the personal ingenuity and spontaneity of the free person.

The clinician sees in his disturbed patients grave conflicts in interpersonal relations. Obviously these people are in need of help in order to approach a decent *minimum* level of interpersonal living. It is, however, far from proven that more and better interpersonal living should be pressed upon those who are making a fairly good adjustment, in the interests of further enhancing their mental health or of acting to prevent potential mental disease. 'Good' mental health, one suspects, can take a wide variety of forms. It is characterized by divergence and individualism rather than by convergence and conformity.

Psychologists will generally wish to steer clear of the global applied social

science which Dr. Ackerman advocates in his last chapter. I am afraid it is still a somewhat alarming thought that mental health workers should take active responsibility for what appear to them to be pathogenic trends in society. Until these workers have studied healthy well-

functioning individuals and families with the same care that they observe for the emotionally disturbed, we shall risk the grave error of assuming that positive mental health is achieved through providing larger doses of the same medicine that is used to correct malfunctioning.

More Meanings for Meaning

Reuben Brower (Ed.)

On Translation. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. xii + 297. \$6.50.

Reviewed by I. A. RICHARDS

Dr. Richards is one of Harvard University's University Professors. He came to Harvard from England in 1939 and has since been lecturing on literary criticism. He is now chiefly concerned with theory of interpretation and with the writing of poetry. He has recently published Goodbye Earth and Other Poems (1959). All psychologists know him as the author with C. K. Ogden of The Meaning of Meaning (1923). His latest book in that field is Speculative Instruments (1955).

THESE essays present, better than any single author could, the current condition of thought about translation. As they diversely recognize, translation is everybody's business, always and at all levels; it guides all our concerns: philosophical, theoretical, pedagogical, political, practical. This is to use 'translation' with high generality, for 'the replacement of any sign by some equivalent sign.'

These signs may be verbal or non-verbal; of the same language (*rewording*); of different languages (*translation proper*); of a language and of a non-verbal sign-system (*transmutation*), as when we describe an event or obey an order. These labels are from Roman Jakobson's clear, succinct presentation, which may well be read first. *Transmutation* may also cover such equivalences as between the bee's find of nectar and the directive dance in the hive. How much further the concept of translation

might be extended is, wisely perhaps, not discussed.

"Equivalence in difference is the cardinal problem of language and the pivotal concern of linguists." The psychologist can claim that this is his problem and concern too, throughout. What can or must substitute for what, when, and how? It is highly useful to have the immense range of this question displayed as this volume admirably displays it. Formulations and examples of substitutability can be as suggestive to the student of perception or of concept formation as to the depth psychologist. Languages are the most accessible and explorable of sign systems and they are in emulsion with those among our doings we would most wish to understand.

Any language is a network of equivalences: any word, phrase, or construction in it being replaceable (more or less, etc.) by others and having its powers (dispositions) and their limits thereby determined. This *intralinguistic* interdependence nowadays takes care of many of the problems which used to be discussed under the heading: MEANING. Recent linguistics has often denied (and denounced) any concern with meanings. What it has been doing is substituting, for meanings, observable equivalences—possible *rewordings*—without sometimes enough remembering that these equivalences are as to dispositions, as to what they could do: a matter of *transmutations*.

Study of what can and cannot be translated leads to the distinction between cognitive and affective-volitional, between *reference* and *what else*. Penetrating and amusing on this matter are Poggoli and Hollander. Those who prefer to despair may turn instead to Nabokov and Fang. On the relativity of a translation to readers' expectations, Brower, the Editor, is excellent. More immediately to the experimentalist's needs is Quine's analysis of how a linguist might be imagined to begin acquiring "a completely alien language" merely from "the native's unconstrued utterances and the observable circumstances of their occurrence." It may be suggested that the experimentalist in this inviting field could well control these circumstances through sequences of pictured situations such as are used in the *Language through Pictures* Series. Cognate with this are the problems of "explicit specification of the characteristics of the context," facing those who would brief data-processing machines for interlinguistic translation. Of these Oettinger gives a detailed and illuminating account.

MODERN linguistics, which early (e.g., Bloomfield) fell for Watsonian behaviorism, is essentially the development of a systematic technique of examination and notation. As the first essay (Nida) and the last (Oettinger) show, a new influence is at work. Communication theory is now shaping the language, at least, of the forward-looking. There are dangers here. Whenever one discipline borrows from another, there is some likelihood that key terms taken over may no longer be used as in the originating study. Quine on "the inscrutability of terms" as opposed to sentences is relevant. Two terms seem at present to be promoting confusions which psychologists may be better placed to remark and correct than either the linguist or the mathematician. These are *information* and *code*.

Information, in communication theory—as Shannon and Weaver were at repeated pains to point out—has little or nothing to do with this word's uses elsewhere: "semantic aspects of communication are irrelevant to the engineering problem" (*Mathematical Theory of*

Communication, 1949, p. 3), and "Information must not be confused with meaning" (p. 99). In spite of which, this is just what is happening. E.g., "a translation made into any artificially restricted vocabulary will inevitably be one which carries less information than the original" (Nida). So far, this may be the mathematical use: 'information' may be being used as a quantity, 'the logarithm of the number of available choices'; 'inevitably' would suggest this. But the sentence continues: "unless extensive circumlocutions are employed and the meaning is thus 'padded out.'" This second half of the sentence is, I think, about something else, about how much a reader will understand. (A reader with only a limited knowledge of a language understands *more* when what is offered him is kept within those limits.) The dangers of borrowings by linguistics from imperfectly understood fields of study are evident.

Code, encode, decode present similar dangers. In communication theory, the message (say, a typewritten sentence) and the signal (say, a sequence of Morse) must be separately identifiable and the relation between them accord with specifiable rules of transformation. Where this is not so, talk of the encoding and decoding of messages is dangerously misleading metaphor, a thing linguistics should, above all, be equipped to detect. Unfortunately such talk has become fashionable and is spreading. It could take us back into the ghost world from which behaviorism endeavored to escape. Encoding would become a transformation—by unknown rules—into a sign system from an unidentifiable none-knows-what. It would, as Hollander well says, "fracture any act of translation into two successive subtranslations, the first putting the original text into some queer sort of language of meanings, and the second retranslating into the final form." The linguistic sense of code (as Jakobson uses it) derives from that network of possible replacements and equivalences *within* a language with which we began. It would be sad—for psychology even more than for other studies—if such misconceptions were to generate the ghost world anew.

The valuable commented bibliography is by B. Q. Morgan.

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life of a child*

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By CLARK E.
MOUSTAKAS

Merrill-Palmer School

Editor of *The Self:
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Foreword by Ross L. Mooney

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The Ocnophil and the Philobat

Michael Balint

Thrills and Regressions. New York: International Universities Press, 1959. Pp. 148. \$4.00.

Reviewed by JANE LOEVINGER

who is Research Associate in the Department of Child Psychiatry of the Jewish Hospital in St. Louis. She has her PhD from the University of California in Berkeley. It was there that Erik Erikson got her interested in psychoanalysis. Her current interests run a gamut from test theory to ego psychology.

DR. MICHAEL BALINT is a member of the faculty of the British Psychoanalytic Society and Institute and a Visiting Professor of Psychiatry, College of Medicine, University of Cincinnati. Here he develops the concept of "primary love" which he first proposed in a series of essays republished as *Primary Love and Psycho-Analytic Technique* (1952). This volume extends the ideas in a psychological, or at least developmental and differential, direction. Further extension of the applications to psychoanalytic technique is promised for a later volume.

Balint reminds us that he protested as early as 1935 against overemphasis on oral aspects of primitive relationships. Dr. Balint, meet Dr. Harlow. Dr. Harlow, meet Dr. Balint. What this book does is to develop a new typology, or continuum. The prototypes, the extremes, are the miser and the aerialist. The hoarder, whom Balint calls an *ocnophil*, loves objects; the acrobat, whom Balint calls a *philobat*, loves the space between objects. Relationship of these extreme attitudes to aspects of very early experience he derives from a combination of observation, intuition, and his own brand of psychoanalytic theory. Tenuous as that may sound, he brings alive in a quite extraordinary way some neglected phenomena, including the attractions of circuses and

amusement parks. This aspect of his work commands attention bordering on belief.

Synoptically presented, the development of the types is as follows. Primary love is a state of "harmonious mix-up" between infant and environment, especially mother. The first trauma is the discovery of objects—mother may not adequately support baby, may not be present when wanted, etc. The first reaction, the ocnophilic one, is to cling to objects. A more advanced reaction is illustrated by learning to walk, where one gets gratification from negotiating the spaces between objects with minimal support and by means of an acquired skill; this remains the typical philobatic attitude. The philobat's progression serves regressive aims; i.e., his skill restores harmony with the environment.

Where Balint falls down is in developing, still more in testing, the implications of the model he has drawn. Freud himself, who possessed superb dialectical skill in this regard, did not always grasp clearly the nature of a theoretical model, as his correspondence with Einstein revealed. Einstein wrote, "It is always delightful when a great and beautiful conception proves to be consonant with reality." Freud answered, "I have often asked myself what indeed there is to be admired in [my doctrines] if they are not true, i.e. if they do not contain a large measure of truth." If one fails to see that a model has properties, such as beauty, quite separate from those of the things modeled, one is in perpetual hazard of confusing the model with the world it represents, a confusion often found, if not in Freud, certainly in many of his followers.

THE evidence Balint offers for his conceptualization is absurdly inadequate. His etymological excursions are, as are all such, unconvincing. The case histories do, indeed, present extreme attitudes with respect to objects, but they do not even illustrate the implied propositions that constitute the excuse for promulgating a new model. Balint's contention is not only that extremes exist; surely there is an infinity of respects in which people differ. The significance of his contribution lies in discerning a set of characteristics which are mutually in-

terrelated; and the force of the argument depends both on the apparent diversity of the correlated manifestations of the underlying attitude prior to the proposed explanation and on their coherence in the light of the explanation. One can hardly be concerned with either unless the correlations do exist. Many such correlations are implied in Balint's exposition.

The ocnophil and the philobat are admittedly similar to Freud's anaclitic and narcissistic types and to Fenichel's phobic and counter-phobic types; but Balint's formulation leads to novel predictions which are in principle testable. The philobat is said to be characterized by visualizing, by exploitive relations with people (they serve as "equipment" for his exploits), by attraction to the thrills of amusement-park rides, and by toleration for modern art, where the boundaries of objects are lost. The ocnophil is said to have little visual imagery, to cling to and to be dependent on people and things, to find amusement-park rides unpleasant, and to dislike nonrepresentational art.

Cases could easily have been given which at least illustrated these points, but none were. Ultimately, however, acceptance of the model by psychologists will depend on normative confirmation. Whatever its predictive power may ultimately prove to be, the model as it stands has a kind of sweep and elegance.

One can only hope that the deficiencies of Balint's exposition will not keep psychologists from taking his ideas seriously. The sensitivity and creativity of his insights into the earliest era of life will not often be matched within the ranks of our more scientific colleagues.



At first appearance, it would seem fairly easy to see and to pose a problem in a branch of science. Surely the raising of questions presents no great difficulty; children do it all the time. And yet, the experience of scientists is summed up in the adage that it is often more difficult to find and to formulate a problem than to solve it.

—ROBERT K. MERTON



Is the psychology of learning a "fragmented and disorderly" field?

O. HOBART MOWRER, of the University of Illinois,

investigates this question in two new books—

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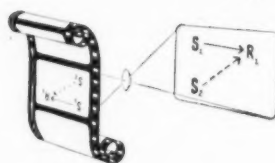
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INSTRUCTIONAL MEDIA

Edited by A. A. Lumsdaine



STARTING with the current issue, this department will review recent developments in self-teaching materials and devices, as well as continuing CP's practice of reviewing films, TV kinescopes, recordings, other teaching aids, and research on these instructional media.

Current developments in such media are interesting to many psychologists, both as teachers and as students of human behavior. During the past few years, there has been a conspicuous upsurge of interest, among experimental as well as educational psychologists, in the development of techniques and devices whereby psychologists' ability to control the behavior of learners may be translated from the psychological laboratory to ongoing educational practice in schools and colleges.

Attempts to make such 'real world' applications of psychological principles for effective learning appear to be increasing (though as yet far from an all-out effort) in the design and use of films, TV programs, and related audiovisual media. A good many psychologists are now convinced, however, that the prospects for the contributions they can make to improvements in instructional technique are even more promising if inputs from behavioral science are vigorously applied to some form of automated instruction for individual students. They believe that this can be implemented by using 'teaching machines' or related devices that provide for continuous, active responding by the learner, and feedback to him from a carefully pre-prepared instructional program.

Both the potential educational significance of these newer media and the increasingly high degree of interest in their development among many psychologists have contributed to CP's de-

cision that this department should cover recent reports about teaching machines and related self-instructional 'programs'—in addition to continuing reviews of films, other forms of classroom teaching aids, and reports of research that utilize or deal with these media of instruction and communication.

In early future issues of CP, INSTRUCTIONAL MEDIA will present a comparative review of workbooks designed as instructional aids to accompany current textbooks for the introductory course in psychology; a review of the recent book on *Automatic Teaching*, edited for Wiley by Eugene Galanter and comprising a collection of papers presented at the symposium on teaching machines sponsored last winter by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research; a review of available films and kinescopes on hypnosis and suggestibility; and other reviews of films in selected areas of potential interest and usefulness to psychologists as instructional aids in various courses.



SIDNEY L. PRESSEY

Signalizing the newly added emphasis on self-instructional devices as tools for better teaching, INSTRUCTIONAL MEDIA devotes itself for the initial 1960 issue to the review of a group of articles which some psychologists feel may stand as historic landmarks in a now rapidly expanding field of psycho-educational technology.

—A. A. L.

Christmas Past, Present, and Future

Sidney L. Pressey

A simple apparatus which gives tests and scores—and teaches. Sch. & Soc., 1926, 23, 373-376.

A machine for automatic teaching of drill material. Sch. & Soc., 1927, 25, 549-552.

B. F. Skinner

Teaching machines. Sci., 1958, 128, 969-977.

Simon Ramo

A new technique of education. Engng. & Sci. Mon., 1957, 21, 17-22.

Reviewed by ROBERT GLASER

whose interest in self-instructional devices began, like Pressey's, with an attempt to develop self-scoring forms of tests that would also have instructional properties. Several years after the development of his original "Tab Test" (circa 1952) Glaser and Lloyd Homme, his colleague at the University of Pittsburgh, really got Teaching-Machine religion (partly on the basis of a year the latter spent with B. F. Skinner at Harvard). For the past couple of years they have been enthusiastically initiating various research projects and other enterprises concerned with "programmed instruction." When Glaser is not busy teaching at Pittsburgh, running its University Measurement Laboratory and Testing Service, or doing research on programmed textbooks and suchlike new-

look instructional media, he serves as a Research Adviser at the American Institute for Research, where his main current preoccupation is with research on team structure and training for the Office of Naval Research.

SINCE remembrance of the Christmas season is still fairly fresh, the reviewer would like to remind educational psychologists of Ebenezer Scrooge in Charles Dickens' *Christmas Carol*. Scrooge, it will be recalled, was a rigid, miserly man who did not appreciate the potential of liberal reinforcement. It was only when his history passed before his eyes in the form of three ghosts that he became aware of his past mistakes, present circumstances, and future prospects. It will further be remembered that Scrooge emerged a changed man. With this parable in mind let us consider the articles by Pressey (whose forward-looking early articles might remind us of the ghost of Christmas Past); by Skinner (whose recent provocative article may take the role of Christmas Present); and by Ramo (whose speculations might be thought descriptive of Christmas To Come).

These articles represent key publications in the present flurry of excitement among psychologists and educators concerning the 'teaching-machine' movement. The growing enthusiasm of many psychologists might well have been anticipated: the actuality of being able to arrange conditions so that human behavior can be brought from one level of performance to another level under the guidance of specifiable techniques is a very reinforcing event.

PSYCHOLOGY's pioneer in automated teaching is S. L. Pressey. Professor Pressey's first papers present a device, an early version of which he exhibited and discussed at the meetings of the American Psychological Association in 1924 and 1925. In two initial papers reviewed here, Pressey discusses a "simple apparatus which gives and scores tests—and teaches." He points out that labor-saving devices are quite feasible in education and sees no reason why education should not be run as efficiently as any large-scale undertaking in this country. Rather than stultifying

education, such mechanical aids should free the teacher from unnecessary burdens and leave her free "for those inspirational and thought-stimulating activities which are, presumably, the real function of the teacher."

The device Pressey presents contains a window through which a multiple-choice item appears. The subject has before him four keys and presses the key corresponding to his choice of an answer. Only when the correct key is pressed does a new question appear in the window. The apparatus can be ad-



—Photo by Koby Cambridge
B. F. SKINNER

justed so that after a criterion of successive correct responses to an item, the machine does not present that item again to the student. Finally, after every item has been answered correctly to the specified criterion, the apparatus releases a small coupon indicative of the fact that the exercise has been mastered.

Pressey built his device to function in accordance with existing knowledge about the learning process. He wrote:

The 'law of recency' operates to establish the correct answer in the mind of the learner, since always the last answer chosen is the right answer. The correct response must almost inevitably be the most frequent, since the correct response is the only response by which the learner can go on to the next question, and since whenever a wrong response is made it must be compensated for by a further correct re-

action. The 'law of exercise' is thus automatically made to function to establish the right response. Since the learner can progress only by making the right reaction, is penalized every time he makes a wrong answer by being required to answer the question one more time, and is rewarded for two consecutive right responses by the elimination of that question, the 'law of effect' is constantly operating to further the learning. Finally, certain fundamental requirements of efficiency in learning are met. The learner is instantly informed as to the correctness of each response he makes (does not have to wait until his paper is corrected by the teacher). His progress is made evident to him by the progressive elimination of items. And—most important of all—there is that individual and exact adjustment to difficulty mentioned at the beginning of the paper, by which wasteful overlearning is avoided and each item returned to until the learner has mastered it.

COMMENT on Pressey's work is contained in Skinner's 1958 article, written a generation later. In this paper Professor Skinner noted that the "industrial revolution in education" which Pressey envisioned did not come about. Skinner attributes this to cultural inertia. The world of education was not ready. The technological attitude encouraged by varieties of audio-visual aids, film projectors, television sets, phonographs, and tape recorders had not blossomed. Furthermore, the science of learning had not brought us to an understanding of the learning process such as we have today. Much of our knowledge, Skinner points out, has come from what has been learned by studying lower organisms. A technology of education based on what we now know is directly applicable to human learning; and the task ahead for the development of this technology calls for ingenious application of much of what we already know.

In order to arrange the conditions which change the behavior of lower organisms, we have learned that we often need to build elaborate apparatus that permit the control of variables of which learning is a function. It is reasonable to assume then that even more subtle manipulation of conditions is required to change the behavior of the human organism, much more subtle than

can be handled by a teacher in a classroom. Appropriate instrumentation, that can be called a teaching machine, might be employed to present and schedule the complex contingencies required.

In contrast to Pressey, Skinner's machines require that the student compose his response rather than select it from a set of alternatives. Further, in acquiring the behavior being learned, the student must pass through a carefully designed sequence of steps. Each step must be so small that it can always be taken and, as it is taken, it moves the student closer to the end-product behavior. These requirements are generated by what has been discovered about the shaping of operant behavior. A feeling for the operation of machines of this kind is conveyed by the following paragraph in Skinner's article:

The machine itself, of course, does not teach. It simply brings the student into contact with the person who composed the material it presents. It is a labor-saving device because it can bring one programmer into contact with an indefinite number of students. This may suggest mass production, but the effect upon each student is surprisingly like that of a private tutor. The comparison holds in several respects. (i) There is a constant interchange between program and student. Unlike lectures, textbooks, and the usual audio-visual aids, the machine induces sustained activity. The student is always alert and busy. (ii) Like a good tutor, the machine insists that a given point be thoroughly understood, either frame by frame or set by set, before the student moves on. Lectures, textbooks, and their mechanized equivalents, on the other hand, proceed without making sure that the student understands and easily leave him behind. (iii) Like a good tutor the machine presents just that material for which the student is ready. It asks him to take only that step which he is at the moment best equipped and most likely to take. (iv) Like a skillful tutor the machine helps the student to come up with the right answer. It does this in part through the orderly construction of the program and in part with techniques of hinting, prompting, suggesting, and so on. . . . (v) Lastly, of course, the machine, like the private tutor, reinforces the student for every correct response, using this immediate feedback not only to shape his behavior most efficiently but to maintain it in strength in a manner which the layman



SIMON RAMO

would describe as 'holding the student's interest.'

Pointing out that the success of a teaching machine depends upon the material used in it, Skinner devotes a large portion of his article to a discussion of the task of 'programming' a given subject. He presents illustrative materials in spelling and high-school physics, describes their characteristics, and presents some rudimentary principles for programming techniques. Skinner discusses the question of maximizing success and minimizing failure and errors in the course of programmed learning, and also the question of how machine instruction will influence the role of the teacher.

Skinner's article is provocative and challenging not only for education, but for the psychologist in the laboratory. The experimental analysis of the properties of verbal learning sequences is an old problem to which the programming requirements of such sequences might bring some new insights. Stimulated by the recent work of Skinner and his associates, a number of efforts in research and development are in progress. Some persons are concerned with building learning programs for particular subject matters and discovering and controlling the effective variables in a learning sequence. Other psychologists have been concerned with instrumentation and the characteristics of teaching machines as they influence stimulus presentation and the form of the learner's response. Others

are concerned with experiments to study the effect of standard learning variables, like massed versus spaced practice and so forth, in the teaching-machine context.

IN the article by Simon Ramo (of Thompson Ramo Wooldridge, Inc.), Dr. Ramo, a distinguished electronics engineer and designer of missiles, speculates about the schools of the future. His concern is with the rate of present technological and scientific advances. The new technical society will not be accompanied by the ability of education to keep pace; and he feels that it is the obligation of persons who are engaged in engineering to apply themselves to help the process of education. He pictures a high school of the future in which the student, upon completion of registration, receives a specially stamped small plate (like a charge-plate) that identifies him and his course of study. Introduction of this plate into a machine makes available the entire record and progress of the student; it also presents to the student his program for the coming term.

A typical school day consists of a number of sessions, some of which are spent in rooms with other students and a teacher and some of which are spent with a machine. Sometimes a human operator is present with the machine and sometimes not. After a short period with a human teacher and after a motion-picture lecture, the student goes to the machine room. The student places his identification plate in a slot, his attendance is recorded, and the machine is connected with the master records machine. The machine then proceeds to tutor the student. Some machines present questions and answers of the multiple-choice type. The progress of the student is then recorded by a master scheduling device. This sets the student up for other machines which are adjusted to his special needs and teaches him in Socratic-like question and answer fashion. Information from weeks of machine operation then form a record which the teacher uses to determine his further course of study. "Ultimately," writes Ramo, "with the proper cooperation between experts in education, expert teachers, experts in [spe-

cific subject matters], and experts in engineering these automatic systems, we can evolve that high level of match between the human teacher and the machine that we seek in that improved high school. Ramo briefly mentions the use of machines for teaching the laboratory aspects of science, English composition, and written and spoken foreign languages.

This new high school would require administrators and clerks not necessarily trained in education. There would be highly skilled teachers, for conventional teaching would still be a substantial part of the operation. In addition, however, the teachers would work closely with subject-matter experts and education engineers (a new profession). The requirements of this new education would create a substantial, new industry concerned with creating these educational machines. (The 1959 meetings of the American Psychological Association contained several exhibits by teaching-machine manufacturers.)

The high school becomes partially transformed into a center run by administrators and clerks, with a minimum of the routine assigned to the teaching staff. The teaching staff is elevated to a role that uses the highest intelligence and skills. A smaller number of teachers make possible the education of a larger number of pupils. The creation of educational material moves partially out into industry, which goes into the education business in partnership with the educators.

It is the opinion of the reviewer that when this close partnership comes about it would be desirable for the science of psychology to offer technical assistance. Indeed, selling instructional aids and materials to our school systems is already a major business enterprise. The industries concerned should seriously consider the increased sponsorship of research in learning and teaching.

IN essence, these papers recommend the application of what we know about learning to educational psychology, an 'applied psychology of learning.' This is an interesting point, for it implies that, for the most part, educational psychology to date has not fruitfully interacted with its basic-science counterpart, the

science of learning. This essentially has been the true state of affairs. Experimental psychologists and educational psychologists are trained in different academic worlds and in different universes of discourse. As a result, educational psychology and the teaching practices it generates have not been closely nurtured by their mother science. Old-fashioned practices, long de-emphasized, are still applied and the potential of new developments is not recognized.

However, the signs of the times indicate that 'togetherness' is important and essential. In recent years more experimentally and learning-theory oriented psychologists have been working on education and training problems. The number of psychologists employed by the government and by private organizations to work on education and training in the military field has increased manifold. The approaches to training problems made by these individuals and their reported records of success and failure in the application of the methods and knowledge of their science have important implications for education in general.

In the universities, educators and experimental psychologists are talking to each other more than ever before and joint appointments are being encouraged. The Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is reinforcing this togetherness with research support. Stimulated by the apparent potential for educational practice that 'programmed learning' and 'automated teaching' methods offer, a number of smaller colleges are in the midst of experimenting with radical curriculum changes—not so much as to subject-matter content, but with respect to the teaching of it. The articles by Pressey, Skinner, and Ramo encourage this *rapprochement* between the "science of learning and the art of teaching." (Skinner, B. F. The science of learning and the art of teaching, *Harvard Educ. Rev.*, 1954, 24, 86-97, and *Current Trends in Psychology*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1956.)

Let the reviewer now comment further on several points.

(1) *Programming material*—Skinner wisely emphasizes that the success of

a teaching machine depends on the material used in it. The essential task set for the programmer is to evoke specific forms of behavior and, through differential reinforcement, bring them under the control of specific stimuli. As a student goes through a learning program, certain of his responses must be strengthened and stimulus control transferred from one situation to another. How does one go about doing this? Some rudimentary techniques have been suggested by Skinner and others. However, the reviewer and his colleagues, in the course of constructing programmed learning sequences, have been impressed with the artistic nature of the enterprise. The fact that it is a difficult and aversive task to program material and a much easier task to build the accompanying hardware is indicated by the fact that at the present time machines outnumber programs by a large ratio. We are in the ridiculous situation of having shells without innards. Once programmed learning sequences are prepared in various subject matters that teach better than existing teaching methods, an educational revolution may not be far behind. Once the airplane flies, the air age cannot be ignored; but it cannot fly without the inside workings.

Learning programs based upon even our present knowledge can scarcely fail to be an improvement over anachronistic methods of teaching certain subjects by lecturing to large classes with little close control of student behavior in acquiring the subject matter. The task indicated is a de-emphasis of the hardware and a concerted attack on the programming of materials and the development of specific principles of programming learning sequences. It must be said, however, that the hardware has its place. It provides a means of manipulating the display characteristics of the stimuli presented to the learner, of controlling the form of the learner's response and of manipulating the characteristics of the reinforcement contingencies employed by the device. Finally it offers 'tangibility' and the advantages of automation to the practicing educator. Methods implemented by machine are easier to sell than methods alone.

(2) Skinner also states that in programming materials a first step is to

define the field. This is no trivial concern; the problem is the specification of the behavioral end-products of the learning process. With the control offered by programmed learning sequences, fairly precise statements must be made of the form of the knowledge skills that are to be learned. In teaching mathematics, for example, do we want the student to solve problems, apply his knowledge to new problems, prove theorems, or all three of these? The construction of the form of the learning programs can differ radically as a function of the criterion behavior chosen. Heady with the possibility of close control of the learning of students in our school systems, the reviewer is tempted to make a tempered Watson-like statement: "Specify the behavior you want acquired and I can get the student to learn it more effectively than ever before." What, however, is the best way to specify this knowledge in order to facilitate the development of effectively controlling learning sequences? A concerted attack on the behavioral specification of educational objectives is required. It is interesting to speculate about how this might influence the structure and organization of our various fields of knowledge.

(3) A programmed learning sequence provides constant feedback about its effectiveness. Does it teach the criterion behavior? Where does it lead the student in a different direction than desired in order to master the subject matter under consideration? It seems apparent to the reviewer that programmed material can teach many things more effectively than they are taught at the present time. In addition, these new techniques can be evaluated more severely than ever before. When the question is asked, "Does this textbook or lecture teach effectively?," the question is answered by the authority of the textbook writer, editor, or lecturer. However, when this question is asked of programmed material, it is answered by detailed analysis of the behavior of the student (similar to the detailed analysis of test items). This behavioral orientation of the learning program permits great improvement in the course of the development of programmed materials.

Finally, if the reviewer's (and other psychologists') enthusiasm for the potentialities of an applied psychology of learning has sounded overzealous, it is because now seems to be the time for such zealotry, or else another 35 Christmas seasons—like the years since Pressey's exhibit at the American Psychological Association—will pass and no educational revolution will have occurred. Perhaps we are too exclusively concerned with turning our students

of experimental psychology into future Einsteins and into ultra-careful experimentalists, and we need to temper this trend by the production of Edisons and inventive applied scientists. At least let us try to apply effectively as much as we know; it might be enough to make a difference. The stimulus provided by the recent concerns with 'teaching machines' and 'programmed learning' makes this result seem likely.

ON THE OTHER HAND



In this Department CP invites discussion of reviews and of books reviewed. Here is the place for that kind of intellectual dissent that promotes progress in understanding. Let your criticism be ad verbum, not ad hominem. Seldom does a criticism merit more than half the space of the text criticized—never more than equal space and then only when the letter is interesting and well written. CP edits letters when it thinks they should be. Single-spaced letters will be returned for double-spacing.

WHOSE MASCULINE PROTEST?

Dr. Noshpitz in his review of *The Gang* by Herbert Bloch and Arthur Niederhoffer (*CP*, Aug. 1959, 4, 246f.) finds that the authors "borrow more from Adler than from any other school," yet that their "most telling insight . . . [is] more Freudian than Adlerian." The insight he refers to is a "primary emphasis on the adolescent desire to 'be a man.'"

This desire as a basic motive was, however, not Freud's but Adler's conception, who named it the "masculine protest." Adler said in 1910 that, in the opinion of a greater part of our culture, "any form of uninhibited aggression, activity, potency, power, and the traits of being brave, free, rich, aggressive, or sadistic can be considered as masculine. All inhibitions and deficiencies, as well as cowardliness, obedience, poverty, and similar traits, can be

considered feminine. . . . The structure of the neuroses shows the often ramified feminine traits carefully hidden by hypertrophied masculine wishes and efforts. *This is the masculine protest* (italics mine; A. Adler, *The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler*, 1956, 47f.). Shortly thereafter Adler described the masculine protest simply as "I want to be a real man" (*ibid.*, 108).

Freud adopted the new term in his 1911 paper on the Schreber case with credit to Adler and reference to his article. "This feminine phantasy [of Schreber] . . . was met at once by indignant repudiation—a true 'masculine protest,' to use Adler's expression, but in a sense different from his" (S. Freud, *Collected Papers*, 1924-1950, III, 426). Elsewhere Freud is even clearer: "The term 'masculine protest' . . . was coined by Alfred Adler" (*ibid.*, IV, 230).

With Adler established as originator of the term *masculine protest*, the questions arise: (a) Why did Freud take it over? (b) Why did he give it a different meaning? (c) What is the difference in meaning?

(1) Undoubtedly Freud as well as Adler had noted the frequent, often quite conscious or at least directly observable phenomenon, often confirmed since, that many women prefer to be men, while men would like to be 'real men.' Freud, having been the older, may well have made this observation first, as Ernest Jones maintains in saying the descriptive aspect of the term "contained nothing new to psychoanalysis" (E. Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, 1955, II, 305). Be that as it may, the phenomenon had remained unnamed, and Freud adopted the term as a convenient designation.

(2) Although Freud could take over the term in its theoretically neutral, descriptive aspect, he could not possibly see eye to eye with Adler on its explanatory aspect. Adler was freeing himself from drive psychology which seeks the basis of motivation in 'objective' physiological pushes. Instead, he was developing a psychology in which subjectively created, partly unconscious goals are the prime movers, a psychology of attitudes and values in which subjectively perceived pulls are the basis of motivation. "The most important question of mental life is not whence? but, whither? . . . In this whither? the cause is contained" (Adler, *op. cit.*, 91). Freud, on the other hand, remained to the end the physiological reductionist for whom "the biological factor is really the rock-bottom" (Freud, *op. cit.*, V, 357) and who looked toward the day when one may "replace the psychological terms by physiological or chemical ones" (Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, 1950, 83).

(3) The meaning Freud gave to the term naturally accorded with his orientation. For Adler, "The libido, the sex drive, and the inclination toward perversion, irrespective of their origins, become subordinated to this guiding thought," the desire "to be a real man" (Adler, *op. cit.*, 108). Eventually this desire was subsumed under broader concepts, such as striving for personal power, self-esteem, security. Ultimately, Adler broadened his motivational concept still further to be more adequate to the striving of the normal individual, and he spoke of a striving for perfection, completion, or overcoming as the basic dynamic force, where the goal of the striving no longer referred to the self but to objects beyond the self (*ibid.*, 101f.). The earlier formulations were retained as special manifestations. Freud, on the other hand, explained the masculine protest as a function of the castration complex, which in the female takes the form of the penis envy. In one of his last papers he still held: "We must not be misled by the term 'masculine protest' into supposing that what the man repudiates is . . . the social aspect of femininity. . . . The 'masculine protest' is in fact nothing other than fear of castration" (Freud, *Papers*, *op. cit.*, V, 357n.).

Returning to the review of Noshpitz, we may then say that when Bloch and Niederhoffer emphasize the adolescent desire "to be a man" they (a) use a phrase coined by Adler, and (b), considering their predominantly Adlerian orientation, they most likely use the phrase in the Adlerian meaning. No book in which the reviewer "finds himself respecting the consistency and serious quality" could harbor such an incon-

sistency as to reduce the dynamics of the gang to castration fear—in the midst of a general Adlerian orientation.

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WOODWORTH'S DYNAMICS

After having read Woodworth's *Dynamics of Behavior*, Mowrer's review of the book (*CP*, May 1959, 4, 129-133), and then Woodworth's subsequent letter to the editor (*CP*, Aug. 1959, 4, 254), I cannot resist comment. In my opinion this book is one of the most important theoretical contributions of this decade, not because Woodworth has provided final answers—what theory has?—but because he has addressed himself to some of the most important questions in psychology and has furnished a plausible and stimulating approach for dealing with these questions. The originality of his approach is such as to bring a welcome freshness into areas which either are ignored or are dealt with inadequately by other theories. An outstanding characteristic of the book is its wide breadth—probably it comes closer than any other original volume since Hebb's *The Organization of Behavior* to being really comprehensive, dealing as it does with motivation, perception, and learning in a single over-all conceptualization.

Woodworth's approach has been criticized as being too unsystematic, as lacking the rigor and elegance to which all psychologists aspire in their theories. While this criticism may have some merit, yet it would be unfortunate if anyone should refrain from reading *Dynamics of Behavior* on that account. As a matter of fact I believe there is no other theoretical conceptualization of equal breadth which is more systematic, certainly none proposed by a single author. The fact is that at the present stage of development of psychology there are no really broad theories which are rigorous in the sense preferred by philosophers of science.

While I disagree strongly with Mowrer's generally negative evaluation of *Dynamics of Behavior*, I nevertheless feel that his review served a useful purpose. Actually, Mowrer's piece was not so much a review, in the usual sense, as it was a short symposium type of article in which Woodworth's functional approach was confronted head on by Mowrer's behaviorist approach. When two such different theoretical views come into direct contact it is probably good for both of them.

PAUL McREYNOLDS
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CP Forward March!

In spite of the statements in the notes addressed to the collaborating reviewers, some correspondence on the subject with the editor, and previous comment in *CP SPEAKS*, this reviewer is still not quite sure about *CP*'s proper compass and pitch. Should it be called "Contemporary American Psychology"? No, the editor says *No* and his actions bear out his valiant effort to include the literary output of writers beyond the confines of the United States and Canada. Even the title "Contemporary Psychology of the English-Speaking Union" would not encompass the journal's domain and ambitions. Then, "Contemporary World Psychology"? Yes, this is it, at least as an indicator of the level of aspiration. This is, of course, how it must be if the interests of the American psychology are to be served well.

The editor would probably wish to add one more qualifying adjective: *significant*—"Significant Contemporary World Psychology." This is his privilege and his responsibility. Plying the five oceans under this flag is not, however, as simple as having embroidered the emblem on a piece of cloth and hoisting the flag up on the mast. What was considered 'significant,' say in 1910, in Paris (Binet), in Vienna (Freud), in Petrograd (Pavlov), or in Cambridge, Massachusetts (William James) was not necessarily so valued mutually and universally. The fact is that in time all of these 'psychologies' contributed important building stones to the general body of the science of behavior.

So much for selection. But how about the pitch? This writer happens to like high voices and is in favor of 'high pitch' reviews, designed for the specialist rather than the generalist. He is one of those individuals who greeted the creation of *Contemporary Psychology* with mixed feelings, precisely because of the fear that there would be a strong temptation to write for the 'average' reader (who doesn't read much anyhow). The writer feels that, scientifically (and financially), the salvation of *Contemporary Psychology* lies in increased emphasis on writing reviews of the 'high pitch' type. This may require, occasionally, a review of the same work from several angles by different reviewers.

These thoughts should be regarded as a search for a fuller realization of *Contemporary Psychology*'s growth potential, not as a criticism of its past accomplishment. American (and world) psychology owes a sizable debt of gratitude to *CP*, a unique journal fashioned by a labor of love, large in volume and inimitable in quality. But

let CP not fail in its aspiration to go forward. The world is a large place and the view beyond the horizon is not easily gained.

JOSEF BROZEK
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RATS OR CHILDREN

D. J. Lewis, in reviewing James Deese's revision of *The Psychology of Learning* (McGraw-Hill, 1958; CP, Sept. 1959, 4, 281f.), concludes that the book "should find wide acceptance . . . in those departments of education which maintain an interest in learning." Nowhere in his review, however, does Lewis suggest that the volume makes any contribution to a knowledge of learning in an educational setting, which happens to be the kind of learning in which people in departments of education are most interested. It would seem that a review of a book on learning might at least parenthetically take note of this rather important consideration.

WM. CLARK TROW
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